Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-004 *7 January 1992*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The "Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT" covers the same geographic area as the former "Soviet Union DAILY REPORT." The sections within have been reorganized. The "International Affairs" and the "Interregional Affairs" sections have been reduced, while the individual republic sections have been expanded. Much information previously found in the "International Affairs" and "Interregional Affairs" sections will be found under "Russia: International Affairs" or "Russia: Federation Affairs."

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Defense Official Explains Nuclear Safeguards

LD0601161192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Many questions arise today as to whether nuclear weapons are reliably safeguarded by the armed forces of the former Soviet Union; whether these weapons can be seized and used by terrorists; and whether trade in these weapons is possible without the consent of the Defense Ministry. Our correspondent took all these questions to a high-ranking Defense Ministry official who is responsible for the protection and prevention of nonsanctioned use of nuclear weapons, Lieutenant General Vladimir Korotko, and here is what he said:

[Begin Korotko recording in Russian fading into English report] There have never been any attempts at a seizure of nuclear weapons. The system of safeguarding nuclear weapons is multifunctional. On the one hand it provides for top secrecy; on the other it ensures safeguard of engineering facilities where nuclear weapons are stored.

The access to nuclear weapons is limited and regulated by related documents. Today, nonsanctioned access to nuclear weapons is completely out of the question. Protection of nuclear weapons acquires special significance during transportation, and this is understandable. So the Defense Ministry has developed a reliable system of escorting and supervising nuclear weapons during their transportation. There have never been any attempts at capturing nuclear weapons during transportation either.

Public in and outside this country is especially concerned about tactical nuclear weapons in the areas of the former Soviet Union where high ethnic and social tensions prevail. Lt. Gen. Vladimir Korotko comments:

We can say today that nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from the areas of high social tension. We started to transport them from the Caucasus, for instance, at the time when seismic forecasts were unfavorable. We feared a repetition of the earthquake there. These measures were taken in keeping with the decisions of the defense minister and the chief of the General Staff. So there are no nuclear weapons in such areas today.

In keeping with the plans, we have also withdrawn nuclear weapons from the former Soviet nuclear republics that have become independent states. True, certain difficulties arise, notably with transportation of weapons from the western part of Ukraine. These matters are under discussion now. An agreement has been reached with the Ukrainian Government that components of nuclear weapons will be withdrawn from its territory by the middle of the year, and the term might be reduced.

Russian Company Urges Dismantling Stockpiles

PM0601100192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 91 p 2

[Interview with Russian People's Deputy M. Bocharov, president of the company "Rusabalvest," by Igor Mosin under the rubric "Operation 'Nuclear Charge'"; place and date not given: "Conveyor Belt of Disarmament"]

[Text] "Rusabalvest," a major Russian company, has actively joined in Operation "Nuclear Charge." The company's president, RSFSR People's Deputy M. Bocharov, talks to our correspondent.

[Bocharov] Frankly, when I learned of the idea of, figuratively speaking, popular destruction of nuclear weapons [zaryady], I decided then and there that we must definitely play the most active part in this. Just think—any person, any firm or company in any corner of the world has the opportunity to purchase the right to destroy a nuclear weapon.

Remember how many treaties, negotiations, and arguments between politicians, academics, and military men there were—how to make reductions, how many to make, and what to reduce. Does anyone remember anything at all of this? The bombs remain as before. The initiators of the auction propose to take a specific nuclear warhead targeted, say, on Paris or New York, transport it to a factory, and dismantle it in view of the whole world. This process should be broadcast from the first step to the last on all television channels and to all countries of the world. Let the people see with their own eyes what a nuclear weapon is and how it can be dealt with.

But the main thing is that virtually everyone can become a participant in the destruction of nuclear weapons. The point is that the people themselves start destroying nuclear weapons. I would very much like for other nuclear powers to follow our example.

[Mosin] How do you envision the realization of this idea in practice?

[Bocharov] "Rusabalvest" is ready to take on all the organizational work. A few words about our company. Our annual turnover is about 20 billion rubles. We cooperate in a very active way with the military, trying to help them in economic and social questions. We are extremely concerned and alarmed, and hurt by all the treatment meted out—I cannot put it any other way—to people who only yesterday were respectfully called defenders of the fatherland. I hope that we will show by this action that our military is for disarmament in deeds, and not just in words.

[Mosin] But of course, this will be not simply a humanitarian action, but also a commercial one?

[Bocharov] You know, I have a dream. Recently I have had cause to meet very often with military men and their families and to visit closed cities. Your heart bleeds when you hear stories of the humiliations, insults, and injustices to which the men in shoulder boards are being subjected. These are the people who saved the world from fascism, the people who faithfully and truly guarded our tranquility. These are the people who created the strongest army in the world, the people behind whose backs we have lived without war and bloodshed

for half a century now. My word, they have not deserved all this outrageous treatment.

I also dream of giving all the funds that we manage to earn from this venture to the closed cities which created the atom bombs. I hope that with their aid we will be able to reverse the atom bomb production line. Let them begin operating now to destroy our nuclear stockpiles. If you like, ultimately this is our common moral duty to mankind. In addition, I hope that people in these cities will be given work and will gain social confidence in the future. After all, today they have been left to cope with their problems virtually alone.

Iran Said To Have Purchased Nuclear Warheads

PM0601145592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 92 p 5

[Unidentified correspondent report: "Atom Bombs on Sale. And At a Reasonable Price"]

[Text] Cairo, 5 Jan—Iran has received three atom bombs from the former Soviet Union. The cover of the weekly AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI carried this stunning sensation.

An extensive article in the publication announced that about a year ago one of the numerous Iranian delegations that recently visited the so-called Soviet Islamic republics included a nuclear specialist. He was set the task of meeting his colleagues and sounding out the possibility of offering them work. It is well-known that Iran has long had dreams of an "Islamic atom bomb" and that the relevant research center has been set up there.

The Iranian scientist performed his task. But one of his Soviet colleagues suggested taking an "easier route"—buying ready-made nuclear weapons. They could be delivered in pieces and assembled on the spot.

Tehran initially decided that this was a KGB provocation. But following the August events, during the Iranian scientist's return visit, the offer was repeated. The Iranians made up their minds. For starters—to acquire three tactical nuclear warheads [zaryad] at a cost of $130-150 million. A numbered Luxembourg bank account was opened into which a $3-million deposit was paid. It was agreed that Iran would employ 50 Soviet nuclear specialists, offering them $5,000 per month each.

Now, the journal claims, the components of the nuclear warheads have already arrived in the Islamic Republic. It is hard to tell whether this story is true. At any rate it seems plausible. The journal points out that the Iranians have acted on two premises: First, everything is now being sold and bought in the former Soviet republics. Second, as a result of the collapse of the Union, up to 20,000 scientists and nuclear specialists may be left without work.

Gulf States Ready to Cooperate With CIS

PM0601104992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 91 Union Edition p 5

[Special correspondent A. Ostalskiy report: "Persian Gulf Shaykhs Hail Creation of Commonwealth. Does This Mean That a Stream of Petrodollars Awaits Us?"]

[Text] Kuwait—The changes in the former Soviet Union unexpectedly occupied an important place on the agenda of the 12th conference of heads of Persian Gulf Arab states, which ended here Wednesday [25 December]. Our country was the only one to be mentioned by name in the international section of the final communique by these states' Cooperation Council.

The conference participants hailed the creation of the Commonwealth and declared that they are ready to recognize the new independent states which make it up. Here they proceed from the premise that these states will abide by international commitments and treaties.

Local commentators have viewed this fact as an important sign that the very rich—and therefore influential—countries of this region are interested in the speediest establishment of close relations with the Commonwealth states.

The council members—Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Saudi Arabia—together own almost half of all the world stocks of oil and wield tremendous influence over the Western economy, in which hundreds of billions of petrodollars have been invested. Friendly relations with them—and particularly the possibilities of economic cooperation—have plainly not hindered the Commonwealth during these difficult times. [sentence as published in Russian: yavno ne pomeshali Sodruzhestvu...]

Some of the Persian Gulf Arab states—Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Bahrain—have quite recently normalized relations with the USSR, which has now suddenly vanished from the political arena. For a long time prior to that they refused ties with us, fearing "the export of communist ideology." Our embassies appeared both in the United Arab Emirates and in Oman just a few years ago. Kuwait alone had risked establishing diplomatic relations with the communist superpower back in the sixties. Therefore it may be considered symbolic that it is precisely on the recently liberated Kuwaiti soil that the Persian Gulf Arab states have now announced their readiness to recognize Russia and the other republics without delay and to establish friendly ties with them.

People here value highly the stand taken by the Soviet Union on the UN Security Council in respect of the Iraqi attack on Kuwait and see Russia as the natural heir to that policy of the USSR's. It also has not gone unnoticed here that in his extensive "program" interview with CNN on the day of the transfer of power Boris Yeltsin specially mentioned the liberation of Kuwait as attesting to a new epoch in international life. The Persian Gulf Arab states have also called this event "the first fruit of the new world order" and of the "positive changes" occurring in the world.

According to informed sources, Russia will occupy one of the central places among the political priorities of the states of the region. However, it cannot be ruled out that investments will be channeled primarily into the Muslim states of the former USSR. But a figure close to the Saudi delegation believes that such trends certainly do not have any "anti-Russian" nature. On the contrary, financial support on the part of rich oil monarchies could be an important stabilizing factor and help to end the growth of fundamentalism in our Islamic republics.

But the documents of the conference still devote most space to the situation in the region. By all accounts, its

participants failed to achieve full concord on the question of creating a unified armed force. A proposal from the sultan of Oman to form a 100,000-strong corps did not "get through." Even though all the conference participants agreed that such a force is needed, there were different viewpoints on its strength and command structure. And yet the council member states declared their determination to ensure security in the region through joint efforts. A certain improvement in relations with Iran was noted—but no more than that.

A quite modest success was also scored in the matter of economic integration. At least, it was decided, as Council Secretary General 'Abdallah Bisharah told journalists, that unified customs tariffs are to be introduced by 1993. Without this, according to him, a "common market" cannot be created in the Gulf. Trade among the countries of the region accounts for only approximately 7 percent of their volume of commodity turnover.

The conference participants also agreed to set up a 10-billion (counting in dollars) fund, which will assist the socioeconomic development of other Arab countries. The "Gulf shaykhs" have given quite generous help in the past to "brothers," far from all of whom behaved in a brotherly way during the hour of trials. Therefore the main emphasis will now be placed on assistance for countries such as Egypt and Syria, whereas Iraq and those who supported it—Jordan, the PLO, Yemen—can hardly count on financial transfusions.

Considerable attention was also devoted to Iraq at the conference. The leaders of the Gulf Arab countries demanded that Baghdad fulfill most strictly all the UN resolutions, and they refuse to have any relations with it until this is done. Nevertheless, the council refrained from a direct call for the overthrow of Saddam Husayn.

...At the same time as the conference was being held here, the flag of the Soviet Union was lowered from the Soviet Embassy building in Kuwait, and the flag of Russia was raised.

Genscher Cited on Relations With CIS States

PM0701110992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Partners in Security"]

[Text] Bonn, 3 Jan—All members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] should be represented in the CSCE and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher believes.

In an article in MITTELDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG he voiced the opinion that Europe can no longer be regarded merely as a geographical concept. It includes the single area from Vancouver to Vladivostok, which is marked by the same goals, joint values, and the interests of all states situated in it. In this connection, the minister stressed, all the republics of the former USSR which have been recognized as independent states must be viewed as partners in security and included in the near future in the CSCE process and admitted to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council.

The development of democracy in the states which are the successors to the Soviet Union, H.-D. Genscher writes, will signify the strengthening of security for the whole world. Formerly stability was based on the balance of fear in the face of nuclear destruction. It is being replaced by a stability based on partnership and cooperation in the field of security, although the present transitional period has been marked by a certain risk. At the meeting in Minsk important accords were reached on joint control of strategic nuclear arms. So far, however, it is unclear what will happen with tactical nuclear weapons, which are now utterly superfluous. Because of their mobility it is extremely complicated to establish control over short-range nuclear missiles and artillery weapons. Therefore the West should suggest to the CIS members that they completely destroy these types of arms on a world scale and achieve accords on control over the process of their elimination. It is also essential that the former republics of the USSR adopt pledges stemming from the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe, the head of the German foreign policy department stressed.

He expressed himself in favor of Germany being represented in all states belonging to the Commonwealth. At the same time, in his opinion, it would be better if the EC countries were to create joint embassies in the former USSR republics. That would emphasize their desire to pursue a coordinated foreign policy within the EC framework and would reduce expenses on the maintenance of mission personnel without infringing on anyone's foreign policy interests.

Italian Officials Enact Bank Credit Freeze

LD0601095892 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Polunin]

[Text] Rome January 6 TASS—The Italian "Mediocredito" Bank has stopped as of January 5 all payments under credits granted to the former USSR by decision of the Italian Parliament, amounting to 1,200 billion liras. This sum was to be spent on purchases from Italian firms of food products, clothing, footwear and other consumer goods and their shipment to the Soviet Union.

The Italian Parliament decided in December 1990 to grant this credit to the USSR in order to help stabilise the Soviet economy. The Italian Government fully guaranteed then all the payments involved and authorised the "Mediocredito" Bank to carry out corresponding financial transactions.

However, deep-going changes have occured in our country since then. They prompted the Bank's directorate to reconsider the matter. According to the "Mediocredito" communique, released here, all payments have been suspended until the political situation in the former USSR becomes clear.

The bank's decision to suspend credit payments to the USSR has affected the interests of Italian businessmen, since many of them have already shipped their goods under earlier contracts concluded with Soviet partners and now risk being left without corresponding payments, the Italian business newspaper "SOLE-24 ORE" notes.

"In accordance with government decisions and concluded agreements, we have produced goods for the Soviet Union," says Italian businessman Marco Bracci, a textiles manufacturer. "Now we are told that no money will be paid for our goods, because the Soviet Union no longer exists. But this is not our fault. Our partners in the former Soviet Union still exist. The government should have foreseen the political risk involved."

"Italian businessmen intend to defend their rights in court," the "SOLE-24 ORE" says.

There is hope, however, that the decision to freeze credits, earlier granted to the Soviet Union, will soon be reconsidered. Last month the state committee for insuring export credits unblocked the payment of an earlier loan to our country, amounting to 1,500 billion lires. This step was taken on the eve of President Yeltsin's visit to Rome. "Italy regards Russia as an equal trade partner, which has replaced the defunct USSR," Italian leaders then said. These statements leave place for hope that the Italian authorities will finally adopt a positive decision on the "Mediocredito" case, too.

Commonwealth

Member States Representatives' Agenda Reported

LD0601182992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1759 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—Issues of mutual interest, including military and political problems, will be discussed during meetings of representatives of Commonwealth of Independent States member states this week in Moscow. This was announced by the Information Directorate of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The report says that consultations at the level of experts, including representatives of the armed forces of the Community of Independent States member countries, will be held in Moscow on 8-9 January. A meeting of foreign ministers of Commonwealth member states will be held on 10 January.

Roundup of Leaders' New Year Statements

92UN0575A Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Jan 92 p 1

[Roundup of New Year statements by Commonwealth leaders: "How Does 1992 Look to You?"]

[Text] **A. Mutalibov, president of the Republic of Azerbaijan:**

The new year of 1992 is extremely important for us as the first year of Azerbaijan's restored independence. Its proclamation was borne out fully by the national referendum which has just been held. We are joining the new commonwealth of equal sovereign states with a belief in the extensive opportunities for its realization in full and a strengthening of all-around ties to the former Union republics which are now members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and with other foreign countries on a mutually profitable, parity basis.

At the same time we are distinctly aware of the entire complexity and scale of the tasks confronting us—political, economic, social. Their successful accomplishment will largely depend on whether an end can be put to the pointless, bloody war which has been imposed on us and which has been under way on our territory for four years now. I would like to hope that the negotiating process which began in the year now ending will, under the conditions of both republics' acquisition of independence, find its logical conclusion, bringing long-awaited peace to the two neighboring peoples.

B. Ararktsyan, head of the Armenian parliament:

My hopes concerning the CIS are connected with the detailed realization of all points of the political declarations proclaimed in Alma-Ata and Minsk. It is extremely important to dynamically, but painlessly, without excessive friction, engage with all members of the Commonwealth the mechanism of the functioning of the CIS, particularly in the economic sphere and on questions of the unfailing observance of human rights and those of the national autonomies, specifically, the self-determination and possible entry into the Commonwealth of Independent States of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. It could in this case be maintained that the CIS was on a par with commonly recognized international organizations like the "Common Market" and the United Nations.

S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Republic of Belarus Supreme Soviet:

It is impossible to look to the future without having evaluated that which is passed with the proper yardstick. From this viewpoint the past year, granted all its crisis nature, engendered quite serious hopes of fruitful change. I refer primarily to the cardinal restructuring of relations between the states, which have acquired independence and which were republics of the former Union. The diktat of the center has given way to equal cooperation. And I hope that, overcoming difficulties and clearing away the obstacles bequeathed us by the totalitarian regime, we will find a balance of the economic, social, and national interests of each member of the Commonwealth.

I am sure that in the new year we will, finally, come out of the tailspin. This confidence is fostered not only by the changes in the political sphere, which have opened the way to radical economic reforms also. It is fostered by the particular stock in hand created by big industry of Belarus. Summing up last year's results, we may say that, while experiencing all the difficulties of the economic devastation and the severance of business ties, the republic's industry was able, for all that, to secure quite a steady operating level and was able to increase even the manufacture of certain types of output and to overcome to some extent the crisis period in the acute social misfortunes of the work force. Such balance, albeit not entirely stable, affords every hope that the decisive transition to the market in the year that has just begun will not be taking place under the worst conditions. If, of course, all of us—each fit individual, each outfit, each republic—learn to really operate independently and rid ourselves completely of a dependent mentality. Down with dependency! Long live independence and responsibility! Such, in my opinion, should be the working motto of the new year.

N. Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan:

I have no doubt that 1992 will be a difficult and very important year not only for the young independent states which have founded the Commonwealth but for each family also. This will be a time of serious, decisive tests of our common possibilities and capabilities, a time of bold and important decisions, actions and business. I personally am a firm believer in the wisdom, composure, and industriousness of Kazakhs—in the qualities of theirs which they have displayed repeatedly and which, I am convinced, will secure for the republic a long-awaited breakthrough toward prosperity and stability. A great

deal of responsible work awaits all of us. And its common success will now depend on everyone more than ever.

I wish all TRUD readers peace and prosperity.

A. Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan:

Last year an extraordinary event occurred—an empire collapsed. In terms of its results the past year is the equivalent of decades. Our Kyrgyzstan has become a genuinely independent state and has been recognized by many of the world's leading countries. The former center, which, having arrogated to itself the fullness of power, decided how the republics would live, is no more.

What do I expect of the coming year? I greatly desire the retention of stability and interethnic harmony and also a change in people's mentality, they being made the true masters of their republic. But the main thing is the advancement of reforms. We have for six years now been talking, trying to persuade one another and arguing. This has not, unfortunately, made things any easier for the people. I hope and believe that the next year will be pivotal—the reforms will finally begin to work, and the economy will move forward not in words but in reality. I greatly believe in land reform, which we have planned for next year. The soundness and the entire strategy of economic reform will depend on how we implement it. I hope also for the development of enterprise, and we are thinking of affording small businesses extensive scope.

I wish TRUD readers, particularly the multimillion-strong army of the working class, peace, prosperity, and interethnic harmony. I am counting on them to support our economic reforms.

M. Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova:

The year 1992 should be one of realizing the plans which crystallized throughout the preceding year, which was so rich in political tempests and cataclysms. It is sufficient to recall the August putsch, in respect of which the Republic of Moldova from the first hours occupied an implacable position. At the same time, however, the defeat of the putschists was a verdict on the idea of the preservation of the USSR. That, which on the initiative of the Republic of Moldova parliament back in 1990 came to be called the "X plus 0" formula, where the zero implied the disappearance of the center as some super-state, given preservation of the natural and vitally necessary ties between independent states, finally came to be realized.

The presidential elections held on 8 December demonstrated as clearly as could be that an absolute majority of citizens of the republic is being consolidated on the basis of the idea of state independence and observance of human rights. I am sure, therefore, that we in Moldova will succeed in achieving peace and concord, and this is the main prerequisite for the formation of a state based on the rule of law and for the speediest solution of economic problems.

There has been no shortage of late of political speculation as regards the future of the Republic of Moldova. But, despite this, we intend to firmly proceed along the path of the formation of Moldova as a full-fledged subject of international law, in equal partnership with other states and plan-oriented integration in the world community. A logical consequence of this policy course should be admittance of the Republic of Moldova to the United Nations.

B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation:

The year 1992 will be special. We are to create the foundations of a new life. Of course, this is difficult work, but it is not, for all that, beyond us. We have experienced more difficult times in the past. A multitude of upheavals and revolutions, war and repression. The country has languished for decades under conditions of lack of freedom and constant shortages. The times of prosperity have been very brief and have always been replaced by crises. Our people have acquired great experience, unfortunately, for survival. I believe, of course, that we have sufficient experience to learn the market also. I am sure that we will come through this difficult period (from B.N. Yeltsin's television speech on 29 December 1991).

R. Nabiyev, president of the Republic of Tajikistan:

Our people have a good ancient tradition—the first snow festival. On this day people exchange greetings letters. Writing them is a matter of honor for everyone. I address such a "snow" letter today not to a specific individual but to the coming New Year.

Only a month has elapsed since the day of the election of the president of the republic. Events have occurred in this short space of time which have fundamentally changed the country's political life. The former Union is no more. We are now living in different countries, but in one Commonwealth. But it should not be forgotten behind these processes that states form and disintegrate, but human relations remain. The world is not saved by confrontation but mutually profitable and benevolent cooperation. The history of our Fatherland also, when we have shared misfortune together, is confirmation of this.

Unity and cohesion are vitally necessary not only at the level of states but also between people within each republic. I greatly rely on the wisdom of the Tajik peasant, who even in the present period of general social apathy has not lost his age-old quality of industriousness.

Availing myself of the opportunity, I would like to congratulate the governments of the sovereign republics which have joined the Commonwealth and their peoples and the staff and readers of the newspaper TRUD on the New Year.

S. Niyazov, president of Turkmenistan:

Never before, perhaps, has a coming year contained so many concerns for the fate of the people. But at the same time we have many reasons for a healthy optimism. On what is it based? Primarily on a belief in the creative potential of the people, who have acquired state independence. In the new year all our efforts—in the economic, political, and cultural spheres—will, one way or another, be geared to strengthening this independence. Its achievement is possible only through a broadening of mutually beneficial contacts both with states of the CIS and with members of the whole world community.

The policy of a market economy which has been chosen contains many painful drawbacks in transition to the new system of management. And the main concern here remains assurance of the social protection of the population. We have even now adopted a number of measures which will make it possible to maintain a sufficiently high living standard in the republic.

I. Karimov, president of the Republic of Uzbekistan:

This will be a very difficult year. Anxious days are in store for all of us. I would very much like in this connection for us to prevent by common efforts a further fall in our people's living standard and to mitigate if only to some extent their deprivations, which ultimately could provoke social explosions with unpredictable consequences.

The cornerstone of the policy which I have been pursuing and which I will continue to pursue is dependable social protection of the working people, the utmost assistance for the least well-off strata of the population and equal rights for all, regardless of racial, national, religious, and other characteristics.

As I understand it, social stability and civic, national, and interethnic accord are today most important of all.

V. Grinev, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet:

I expect in the coming year confirmation of Ukraine's capacity for being an independent state. And, most importantly, its capacity for effecting radical economic transformations. That is, I expect that Ukraine will move from political passions to difficult constructive work. I expect that Ukraine will emerge from seclusion and obscurity into the arena of the world economic and political community as a major European power, with recognition of its significance and recognition of its responsibility. Responsibility for the fate of nuclear weapons and stability on the territory of the former Union and for the socioeconomic conditions of the existence of the peoples of Ukraine.

Commentaries on Results of Minsk Meeting

'Essential' to All Members

PM0601140192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Article by Vladimir Kuznechenskiy: "There Will Be a Commonwealth of Peoples. But What Kind?"]

[Text] The 30 December 1991 meeting in Minsk showed convincingly that the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] is essential to all its members. In one day, despite the previous unanimous gloomy forecasts, the heads of the 11 states convincingly showed the viability of the Commonwealth which has taken over from the USSR and were able to find mutually acceptable compromise solutions on virtually all questions.

But this summit meeting showed even more resolutely than Belovezhskaya Forest and Alma-Ata that the Commonwealth is essential to all its participants not as a common state but as an advisory, consultative organ designed to control the activity of the member states in the most important spheres and to help define the rules of the general game in economics, policy, and the military field with a view to the most effective possible national development.

In Belovezhskaya Forest and then in Alma-Ata a Commonwealth of equals which are seeking to coordinate their policy pursued in primarily national interests was created.

This nature of the Commonwealth is emphasized also by the terminology of the documents adopted in Minsk. They are all called "agreements," which is designed to stress the absolute equality of the members. In Minsk the member states were so vigilant in keeping track of their independence that they did not want to waive even a small part of it and as a result did not adopt joint documents which would have been called "treaties," since a treaty presupposes the imposition on each of commitments, albeit voluntary ones, in one sphere or another.

But if you consider that just recently all 11 members were threatened with the prospect of the complete breakdown of economic relations among themselves, by customs wars, and the impossibility of agreeing on preserving production sharing ties for the next few months, which could have meant the complete failure and even collapse of these republics' economy, then the Commonwealth undoubtedly signifies a step forward away from the abyss toward which the locomotive of the former USSR was advancing at full steam under the management of the old structures.

One of the main questions at the Minsk meeting was the creation of organs for coordination in the activity of the member states (not executive organs of the Commonwealth, as some mass media noted, but coordinating organs). That task has in principle been resolved. A

provisional agreement was signed on the council of heads of state and the council of heads of government. General principles were agreed for implementing radical economic reform. An agreement was signed on strategic forces recognizing the need for a united command for these forces and the retention of unified control over nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

There was a careful discussion of the theme of national armed forces. And that was natural. The independence of any state is no more than a function unless it has its own armed forces, intelligence, and counterintelligence. And, indeed, its own national currency. That is the norm in civilized world practice.

At any rate in the period of the establishment of independence this is an unfailing law of the civilized world. Only the rudiments of the stereotype of the old thinking can explain the positions of those politicians and military men who, with a clear gaze and untroubled awareness, naively explain to Ukraine that it would be better for it if its general-purpose armed forces are commanded by a commander in chief sitting with his headquarters in another state.

Here there were not so many differences on this issue in Minsk as might have seemed at first. Virtually all Commonwealth members come out for their own general-purpose armed forces. It is merely a case of dates. Ukraine would like to do this at once (as early as 3 January). Moldova adheres to approximately the same position. Belarus agrees to wait a year. So does Uzbekistan. Russia suggested a transitional period of two to three years in stages.

In other words there were virtually no fundamental disagreements when discussing the agreement on defense questions. And therefore to believe that the Russian delegation was unable to defend or implement anything there is nothing but an illusion. Russia's position in Minsk was realistic, balanced, and wise. For Russia Point 1 of the Agreement of Defense Questions which records "the legal right to create its own armed forces" for the member states means the same as it does for all the others—it will have its own armed forces. De jure and de facto. To opponents of this position, particularly in the army, who are even threatening to resign unless single armed forces with a single command are retained for all member states, I would like to put the following question: Can you imagine a state that is a permanent member of the UN Security Council (this place has now been taken by Russia in place of the USSR) without its own armed forces?

Yet after all it is a case not only of Russia but also of Ukraine, Belarus, and others...

In my view Boris Yeltsin on this plane displayed a profound understanding of the reality of the political process. And moreover the story does not after all end at the Minsk meeting. As early as 1992 the states seeking absolute separatism in the military field will not fail to feel what it is like when the lion's share of the capacities producing military equipment is situated on Russian territory. And now under conditions of independence they will all have to pay a considerable amount of money for what Moscow used to distribute, not sell.

Yes, independent armed forces are essential. Incidentally, only in that case will Russia be able to embark on the sensible reduction of its own armed forces without infringing on its security and worsening the material position of cadre military men. On the scale of the entire Commonwealth it is extremely difficult to resolve these tasks effectively, which was demonstrated to us sufficiently convincingly in the past by Khrushchev and Gorbachev.

Matters are approximately the same with regard to national currency. Here too I am inclined to assess the results of the Minsk meeting as a triumph for realism over illusions and hypocrisy. The ruble zone of the Commonwealth's economic area is retained, but it is being corrected in those parts where Russia is dilatory in supplying money. After all, it is not a question of the independent states wanting to have their own currency. There is nothing unexpected or unusual in that. And this was discussed at the Belovezhskaya Forest meeting 8 December. The question lies somewhere completely different, to wit that national currencies should be introduced in the Commonwealth states in a more or less coordinated way, not suddenly, without destructive consequences. It was on precisely this point that agreement was reached in Minsk.

And so in the new year of 1992 Russia has embarked on quite close cooperation with 10 other independent states. The forecast of the former USSR president that the creation of the CIS signifies the "division" of the single economic area and consequently threatens the former republics with death has so far not come to pass. Let us hope that it will not come to pass in the future.

Not everything planned in Alma-Ata was successfully implemented in Minsk. The CIS Charter was not adopted and to all appearances will not be adopted since it was resolutely opposed by Ukraine. Probably the Commonwealth members acted wisely in agreeing that the Commonwealth should not be turned into a semblance of the now forgotten USSR and since that is so no CIS Constitution is needed and nor is a Charter replacing the constitution.

No agreement was reached on the principles for the command of the conventional armed forces. But the treaty process is under way, it has not stopped, and none of the participants in the meeting tried to slam the door. And that is the main thing. That instills hope. And under present conditions there is perhaps nothing more valuable than hope based on reality.

Test for 'Unity'

PM0601143592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Anatoliy Karpychev under the rubric "My Opinion": "Minsk Without Issue"]

[Text] Both we at home and the world public have waited impatiently for the results of meeting of the heads of the Commonwealth which took place in Minsk on the eve of the new year, or to be more precise on the very day when ordinarily the USSR's birthday used to be marked.

It is possible that their falling on the same day was by chance, but this is not what is most important. The meeting was a test for its participants' unity of will and wisdom.

The presidents of Russia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and other respected leaders did not have the right to come ceremoniously to Minsk, exchange views, and not come to an agreement. And I thought that the process begun under the banner of the Commonwealth of Independent States would move forward.

All right then. What do we have after the Minsk discussions? In my opinion very little, next to nothing. The assessments of the world's press to which, I think, the participants of the second Minsk meeting are not indifferent, are also not at all "favorable" to them. Some think that they did not succeed in resolving a single important problem in Minsk; others, the minority, nevertheless come out in support of them, but with reservations.

One of the questions which should be resolved without reservations concerns the mechanisms to coordinate actions. And like it or not, there is no escaping them. These mechanisms are represented very clearly in the European Community to which the Commonwealth's leaders like to refer. But clearly in order to prove the expedience of abolishing both the center and the post of president, the Commonwealth's heads are reluctantly venturing to mention mechanisms of coordination. I can understand them—they will be reminiscent of certain central structures. An accord was reached in Minsk on the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Governments. Yes, it is important to have them. But in order to create them—for this it was not absolutely necessary to travel to Minsk.

The meeting's agenda was extensive and even caused some surprise. Nevertheless the top men assembled. Without calling into question this agenda at all, I will take the liberty of pointing out that the meeting's concrete results were meager. This particular Minsk meeting was a flop... You could already sense this from the mood of Gennadiy Burbulis whose interview I heard—it contained many generalities, but little joy. Yes, the issues of Chernobyl, the Aral Sea and all the others are very important, and, yes, the issue of what the first television channel should be like should be resolved, but all this becomes of secondary importance if we begin to talk about the aims of forming the Commonwealth.

The heads of state stated that the country has gone up a blind alley and they are going to look for ways out of it by new routes. The second Minsk meeting did not even have to answer all the questions, but it should have given a signal and hope to people that such a search had begun for the sake of their well-being. Who television's first channel will belong to, forgive me for saying this, interests few people.

The meeting in Minsk revealed a number of trends which put you on your guard. For example, how should we understand the Commonwealth's essence. It is not the USSR's successor, and several presidents are finding it difficult to take the path of coordinating their actions... But then what—complete independence? If this is right, then having abolished one center will we receive ten small centers in the former capitals of the Union republics? Having abolished one totalitarian system, will we acquire ten or so systems similar to it in the independent states? In my opinion we were not striving for this.

Characterized as 'Failure'

LD0601214492 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—The December 30 meeting of the heads of state of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in Minsk suffered a setback, the Moscow-based weekly KOMMERSANT believes.

The weekly's political news analyst Maxim Sokolov, examining the results of the meeting, writes as follows: "A transition from declarations to their enactment in practice turned out to be a far more difficult task than was previously expected and, as a result, the mountain brought forth a mouse: having signed a certain number of non-binding documents, the CIS leaders left Minsk empty-handed".

The analyst's opinion is that the failure of the Minsk meeting was virtually pre-determined in Alma-Ata on December 21 "when new agreements were added to the documents signed in Belovezhskaya Pushcha on December 8 and the question of coordinating what cannot be coordinated arose, because the two packages of documents were based on diametrically opposite concepts".

The "Slavic entente" is a consistent expression of the "concept of locomotive": the strongest republics which are most closely interconnected economically unite to make a breakthrough. The rest are meant to wait until the economic locomotive picks up speed and only then to join it at the tail-end, Sokolov emphasised.

Foreigners' Reaction Noted

92UF0410A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Jan 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[Article by Igor Kovalev: "'The Future of the Commonwealth Looks Increasingly Less Clear': Foreign Comment on the Results of the Minsk Meeting"]

[Text] Westerners who are experts concerning our situation did not expect simple and fast decisions on the most important defense and economic problems in Minsk, and their forecasts were largely borne out. The sole important result of the Minsk meeting is considered the retention of unified control over the nuclear forces. "Everything else was left vague," the French Antenne-2 television company commented.

"The Minsk agreements leave the economic sphere practically untouched, and the future of the Commonwealth looks increasingly less clear," Paris' LE MONDE writes. "The participants in the Minsk meeting were unable to settle a single one of the most important problems, which have to be overcome for the new Commonwealth to survive," London's THE INDEPENDENT wrote.

New Apprehensions of the West

Western commentators are noting with a fair share of unease the fact that Ukraine blocked, if only temporarily, the adoption of the Commonwealth charter and that it in fact headed a group of three countries, including Azerbaijan and Moldova, which are insisting on the creation of their own armed forces. "The actions of Ukraine, which is putting the emphasis not on mutual cooperation but on full independence, have become the main obstacle in the way of the cohesion of the Commonwealth," the Japanese newspaper ASAHI wrote. And a commentator for the German TDF television company develops this theme as follows: "The West was formerly afraid of the USSR, which seemed to be a monopolist with monstrous destructive potential. This potential has been preserved, but there is no longer cohesion. Opposition to the West has come to be replaced by the opposition of the republics of the former USSR to one another. And this could represent a more serious danger than the former system."

Particular Role of Ukraine

That the question of the fate of the strategic nuclear weapons was decided is a positive fact—such is commentators' unanimous opinion. But the unresolved fate of conventional arms and the Armed Forces as a whole is a manifestly destabilizing factor. In addition, it is not only a question of strategic nuclear weapons. "Experts are calling attention to the fact," an American CBS correspondent observes, "that considerable numbers of tactical nuclear missiles are under the control of the commanders of relatively small Army contingents deployed on the territory of many of the former Soviet republics. The probability of some nationalist, radical, or paramilitary groupings attempting to steal these weapons cannot be ruled out."

And once again the commentators agree that the solution of these questions will depend to a considerable extent on the position of Ukraine. "Ukraine's thirst for independence is so great," Antenne-2 believes, "that it hates everything which bears a resemblance to empire, Russian particularly. Ukraine is refusing to join any military alliance."

Russia—No Longer 'Big Brother'

Western correspondents who covered the Minsk meeting are concluding that at the present time the Russian president's influence is not enough to persuade the republics to pursue a common policy.

But they are by no means about to write off Russia, for that matter. In the London TIMES, Sovietologist M. Howard refutes the opinion that Russia will never play a leading part in the world arena by virtue of the difficulties it is currently experiencing. He calls for Russia's revival to be neither ignored nor feared but for this process to be considered inevitable.

New Councils Viewed

92UF0411A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Jan 92 p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent Gennadiy Shipitko: "Heads of State and Government Created Their Own Councils"]

[Text] **Despite the manifestly expressed aspiration of each of the states of the Commonwealth to conduct their own independent policy, it became apparent to all of the 11 participants during the course of the meeting itself that it is unlikely that they will succeed without coordinating their actions. At first questions connected with the councils of the heads of state and government were excluded from the agenda. Apparently, given the independent policy of the presidents, each of the parties believed that it was sufficient to have Commonwealth coordination institutions.**

The course of the meeting showed the unreality of the kind of approaches that evidently led to differences of opinion inside the Commonwealth. As a result, a legal document appeared that was called, it is true, a temporary agreement of the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

Seven articles of the document determine that the supreme organ of the Commonwealth is the Council of the Heads of State, which convenes not less than twice a year. Provision is also made for special meetings, which are convened at the initiative of a majority of the heads of state. They are chaired in turn according to "the order of the Russian alphabet of the names of the states of the Commonwealth." All decisions are adopted by consensus, that is, by common agreement of the heads of

state. Russian was determined to be the working language, but the official languages are considered to be the state languages of the states of the Commonwealth.

The Council of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth assembles for a meeting not less than once in three months. In addition, the meetings of the councils, as a rule, will be conducted in Minsk, where joint meetings are also envisioned. Coming under the jurisdiction of the supreme organ of the Commonwealth are questions, as is stated in the document, that are "envisioned in the agreement on the creation of the CIS and other documents in the development of the indicated agreement, including problems of the right of succession that arise in connection with the cessation of the existence of the Union and the elimination of its structure."

It was also decided that working and subsidiary organs can be set up under the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government both on a permanent and temporary basis. There in Minsk, a conference protocol was signed which instructed the ministers of foreign affairs of the member states of the Commonwealth to submit proposals on the name, structure, and sources of financing of working groups for the organizational-technical preparation of the Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government. It is proposed that the conference be conducted not later than 10 January in the capital of Belarus.

Ecological Situation Reported

92UF0413A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Valeriy Konovalov: "More Ecology Than Economy"]

[Text] **Problems of ecology which are most pressing for the Commonwealth countries received less than expected coverage in the package of documents adopted in Minsk.**

All the participants in the meeting, with the exception of Ukraine and Moldova, signed an agreement on mutual actions in space research and utilization. This agreement admits that "it is necessary to unite our efforts for efficient space research and utilization in the interests of the people's economy and science as well as in the interests of our defense capability and provision of mutual security." It also confirms "the necessity to observe strictly all international agreements and obligations in the area of space research and utilization that were previously undertaken by the USSR." All mutual actions in this area will be coordinated by the Intergovernmental Council on Space which is being formed of plenipotentiary representatives of the states participating in the agreement; the states may also develop their independent programs.

Intergovernmental space programs will be financed through share contributions made by the participants of the meeting. They will be realized on the basis of already existing and also new space complexes and space infrastructure sites. All expenses involved in the operation of space systems as well as profits from commercial space programs and launches will be distributed according to share participation.

Participants in the agreement pledged to allocate the sums required for intergovernmental programs and for designing their own budgets. If the participating states consent to this, other countries may join this agreement also.

All 11 participants in the Minsk meeting signed the protocol for preparation of a special agreement on preservation of aquatic life in the Caspian Sea. The entire document is limited to the acknowledgement that the Governments of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Turkmenistan will draft an agreement on the preservation of fish in the Caspian Sea.

Another protocol with 11 signatures contains the proposal of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine to confirm, before 10 January, the list of actions to be completed in 1992 aimed at cleaning up the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster, the regimen, and the amount of financing for them as well as to sign a corresponding agreement. It is stated that all members of the Commonwealth will provide humanitarian aid for eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] catastrophe.

The third protocol deals with drafting an agreement on the problems of the Aral Sea and on the clean-up after the Spitak earthquake. The protocol states that the 11 heads of states who signed it agreed that the Governments of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan would draft a special agreement on these problems.

All three protocols deal with extremely sore and lengthy problems of the former Union. There were numerous attempts made to resolve these problems but none of them was any success and the reasons for failure were limited finances, absence of a viable mechanism allowing the realization of the drafted programs, and a parochial approach. The protocols that were signed in Minsk provide no explanation on how these problems will be resolved this time.

Military

'Tense Situation' Engenders Further Reaction

Officers' Meeting Scheduled

PM0601233192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jan 92 Single Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Decision Made To Hold All-Army Officers' Meeting"]

[Text] Due to the tense situation prevalent in the Commonwealth states over the Armed Forces, it has been

decided to hold an All-Army Officers' Meeting. It will take place 14 January 1992 in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

At the meeting it is planned to discuss topical questions connected with the status of the Armed Forces and the possibility of preserving them as an integral whole, prospects for military reform, and also the sociolegal position and protection of servicemen.

It is planned to discuss these questions beforehand at officers' meetings in units, on ships, at military training institutions, and in other military collectives. At those meetings representatives to the all-Army meeting will be elected. It is recommended that command, engineering and technical, staff, rear services, and instructional cadres and officers engaged on work with personnel be ensured representation at the all-Army meeting.

Deputy commanders in chief of the Armed Forces, commanders in chief of sectors [napravleniye] and of the Far East, commanders of military districts, groups of forces, fleets and the Moscow Air Defense District, and airborne troops, chiefs of main and central directorates of the Armed Forces Main Command, and their assistants for educational work will take part in the meeting's work.

Heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States will be invited to the All-Army Officers' Meeting. The public will be widely represented there.

Shaposhnikov Sends Order

LD0701050492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, has sent telegrams to military districts and fleets with an order to the servicemen to take a military oath for the CIS. According to POSTFACTUM News Agency, the telegram contains the text of the oath, stating that it has been approved by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

According to other sources, the Russian president's decree on the military oath has not yet been signed and Marshal Shaposhnikov sent the text of the oath set out in the draft decree, which has not yet been approved, apparently hoping that the decree will be signed by 10 January.

Officials Comment on Black Sea Fleet Issue

Chernavin Interviewed

LD0601180692 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Interview with V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, by correspondent A. Galkin; place and date not given]

[Text] Today is the day in the Ukraine when the oath will be taken in three military districts. According to the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, more than 80 percent of the soldiers are giving their consent to stand beneath the yellow and blue flag. Some units, however, are refusing, as, for instance, helicopter pilots in Lvov have done. And there are expected to be still more problems with the Black Sea Fleet, part of which is based in ports on the territory of the present Ukraine, and part on Russian shores.

In Moscow, Admiral Chernavin stated the following:

[Begin recording] [Galkin] Vladimir Nikalayevich, the Ukraine has declared that the Black Sea Fleet is being transferred to its jurisdiction. Tell me, is this decision in keeping with the Minsk accords?

[Chernavin] It most definitely is not in keeping with them. It is at variance with those accords. The naval forces pertaining to the strategic forces do not come under the list of those forces that can be declared as being somebody's national property.

[Galkin] What is the mood of the personnel of the Black Sea Fleet at this moment?

[Chernavin] People are worried and pessimistic. This is because of the rash and ill-thought actions of the Ukrainian leadership with regard to the Army in general, and the Black Sea Fleet in particular. The attempt to seize the Black Sea Fleet by force and appropriate it to the Ministry of Defense of the Ukraine is giving rise not only to perplexity among the personnel of the fleet—especially the officers—but also indignation and resolute protest.

[Galkin] In this connection, tell me, surely each sovereign state possesses the right to have its own armed forces, and, in particular, its own fleet. Does the Ukraine possess such a right?

[Chernavin] I not only consider that it has the right, but I also support this desire. But, in order to resolve the question of what sort of fleet this should be, the tasks first must be defined. I consider that these tasks could be:

1. Defense of the marine state border, i.e., the border function.

2. The second task is to combat all kinds of contraband traffic, which today is a problem for all the world's maritime countries.

When we formulate the tasks in this way, the question as to what sort of fleet it should be will become clear, and it will become clear as to whether the Ukraine needs a fleet which today sails in the Mediterranean Sea in order to carry out strategic tasks, which monitors the situation throughout the Black Sea, and which carries out a function of major importance in the interests of all the states of the Commonwealth, including the Ukraine—the defense of the integrity of these states from a strategic maritime viewpoint. [end recording]

Kapitanets Quoted

PM0601233992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jan 92 Single Edition p 2

[Report by Captain Third Class V. Maryukha: "Admiral of Fleet I. Kapitanets: Black Sea Fleet Is Resolving Tasks in Interests of Whole Commonwealth"]

[Text] As already reported, the Ukraine has announced that on 3 January this year the troops of the three military districts and the Black Sea Fleet forces stationed on the republic's territory will be transferred to its jurisdiction. However, the Black Sea Fleet, as a component of the Navy, is part of the CIS strategic forces, an agreement on which was signed in Minsk 30 December, and may not be transferred to an individual member state of the Commonwealth. Your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent was told this by Admiral of the Fleet I. Kapitanets, first deputy commander in chief of the Navy, who has returned from talks in Kiev where the fate of the Black Sea Fleet and the troops of the Kiev, Odessa, and Carpathian military districts was being decided.

"Whichever position you take—historical, organizational, technical, or finally military strategic—there is no justification for saying that the Black Sea Fleet may be transferred to the Ukraine's jurisdiction," Ivan Matveyevich said. "The Ukrainian delegation at the talks, in our view, takes a one-sided interpretation of the Minsk agreements with the intention of transferring the jurisdiction of the troops and fleet forces before the end of the two-month deadline set by the agreement of the Council of Heads of States of the CIS member states for resolving questions of the Armed Forces. The question of the formation of its own armed forces based on the territorial principle highlighted by the Ukrainian delegation is invalid because the grouping in the Ukraine, for example, was created by the whole country over more than 50 years and today is inseparable from the Commonwealth's interests. We offered the Ukraine our help in forming its own naval forces, but this offer was rejected. It was planned to swear in the commanders of the districts and of the Black Sea Fleet in Kiev 4 January. Fulfilling the order of Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, to whom the Commonwealth's strategic forces are subordinated, Admiral I. Kasatonov did not take part in this event. The adoption of the text of a single oath for the Commonwealth's Armed Forces is planned for 10-12 January, and has been sent to ships and units of the Black Sea Fleet.

"On the basis of the military-political situation, the Black Sea Fleet is resolving tasks in the interests of the whole CIS, and the actions of the Ukrainian authorities—such as the freezing [arest] of fleet accounts in banks and threats against officers who do not want to swear an oath of allegiance to the republic—have nothing to do with attempts to find a constructive solution to a difficult question for navymen: Under whose banner do they stand today?"

Shaposhnikov, Others Comment

PM0601170292 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Viktor Litovkin report incorporating telephone interviews with Ukrainian Chief of Staff Georgiy Zhivitsa, Black Sea Fleet Commander Igor Kasatonov, and Commonwealth Armed Forces Commander in Chief Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, plus RIA report: "Troops Begin To Take the Oath on Ukrainian Territory. Black Sea Fleet Commander Refuses To Fulfill President Kravchuk's Demands"]

[Text] On 5 January, troops stationed in Ukraine started taking the military oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people. Unfortunately our correspondent in Kiev is on leave, and we were only able to obtain a telephone report on this event.

[Litovkin report] Major General Georgiy Zhivitsa, chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces Main Staff, told our military correspondent that the swearing of the oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people is not yet under way on a mass scale among the troops of the three military districts. Only preparatory work is in progress. People are being briefed on the meaning of the new oath and the state's laws on military service, including pension provision for servicemen and their pay.

The general complained about our newspaper, saying that IZVESTIYA is not covering this process. He invited me to go to Kiev to obtain the most detailed and, as he put it, accurate information on what is happening in the state's armed forces. I accepted this proposal with pleasure.

"On 6 January," the chief of the main staff said, "6,400 men took the new military oath in Ukraine. Some 3,200 of these are officers. They include the entire Ukrainian Defense Ministry apparatus; the railroad trops stationed in all three districts—the Kiev, Carpathian, and Odessa Districts, numbering 1,500 men; air army support units in Kiev; and also an aviation communications regiment under central jurisdiction. True, two officers in that regiment, Russians by nationality, have abstained from taking the Ukrainian oath thus far. In the Kiev Military District as a whole, the oath was taken by 3,000 soldiers, sergeants, warrant officers, and officers."

A motorized infantry division stationed not far from the Ukrainian capital is beginning to take the oath Monday 6 January, Georgiy Zhivitsa reported. That is some 6,000 men.

"But we are not forcing the pace of events," he added. "According to the schedule approved by the minister, the start of oath-taking in the Kiev District is set for 10 January. It is due to end 20 January. In the Carpathian District they will be taking the oath 15 through 20 January, and in the Odessa District 17 through 19 January."

The general told the editorial office that every last one of the units stationed in Ukraine, even those belonging to

the strategic forces, including the Black Sea Fleet, is wholly financed, for the first quarter of 1992, by the state's government, and is provided with the necessary supply of coupons. The military pension will be paid by the Ukrainian Government to those reserve officers who take Ukrainian citizenship.

In the evening "Vesti" news program on Sunday [5 January], Aleksandr Gurnov reported, citing THE NEW YORK TIMES, that Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, has refused to carry out the orders of the Ukrainian president and swear in the fleet. I contacted the admiral.

"Yes, that is true," Igor Kasatonov stated. "I consider that until such time as a political solution to the problem is found—at the level of the two states' presidents—the fleet will maintain the status quo and remain subordinate to the commander in chief of the Commonwealth Armed Forces and the commander in chief of the Navy.

"We have 46 nationalities serving in our fleet," he said. "Ukrainians account for only 19 percent of the officers, and 30 percent of the seamen and petty officers. I consider it a crime to make a citizen of one state take an oath of loyalty to another state."

Georgiy Zhivitsa, chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces Main Staff, said that this statement by the Black Sea Fleet commander makes him persona non grata.

In a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent, Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, stated that the decision by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and the order of the state's Defense Minister Colonel General Konstantin Morozov that all servicemen of the three districts and the Black Sea Fleet should take an oath of loyalty to the Ukraine is contrary to the Minsk agreements. He called on the peoples, parliamentarians, and leaders of the Commonwealth countries to show common sense, not rush events, prevent the collapse of the states' defense capability, and not ruin people's lives through ill-considered decisions.

Questions of dividing up the Army and Navy should be decided at the interstate, intergovernment level, he said. People in the Ukraine take the same view.

[RIA report] Kiev—The tension in connection with the Ukraine's formation of its own armed forces is being "artificially whipped up by the Moscow generals, who do not want to lose their leading posts," Les Tanyuk, Ukrainian people's deputy and chairman of the People's Rada—the parliamentary opposition—believes. "The transfer to the Ukraine's jurisdiction of military units stationed on the republic's territory is a legitimate and democratic process," he stated.

Black Sea Fleet Head Interviewed

PM0601234992 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 7 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with Admiral I. Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, by military observer Sergey Doronin, by telephone, 6 January: "'Fleet Will Not Take the Oath!' Admiral I. Kasatonov Has Stated"]

[Text] The decision of the Ukrainian president and the Ukrainian Defense Ministry to unilaterally take under their jurisdiction the military formations of the districts and the Black Sea Fleet has caused definite complications in relations between the governments of the sovereign states. Thus it has been demonstrated that the prospects for the future of the Armed Forces of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] have not been determined. The sides are becoming increasingly actively involved in political confrontation.

Yesterday the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA editorial office rang Admiral I. Kasatonov, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Igor Vladimirovich, how do Black Sea sailors regard what is going on?

[Kasatonov] I have received hundreds of telegrams and letters from servicemen, workers, and employees of the fleet expressing disagreement with the Ukrainian leadership's decision to singlehandedly decide the fleet's destiny and the destinies of tens of thousands of people. To force all personnel without exception to take the oath and present them with the choice of serving the Ukraine alone, of serving outside its borders, or of going into tbe reserve is an extremely undemocratic step. This is a violation of human rights.

On 30 December last year in Minsk it was clearly established that the fleets, flotillas, and the Leningrad Naval Base—components of the Navy—are regarded as strategic deterrence forces and are subordinated to a single command. The Ukrainian leadership has found it possible to change its position, saying that this does not apply to the Black Sea Fleet simply because its arms do not include any nuclear strategic deterrence facilities.

The leadership of the Defense Ministry and the Navy consider that the fleet cannot be divided into strategic and nonstrategic forces. Even if only because any fleet is an operational-strategic formation and resolves the corresponding tasks.

The Defense Ministry and the Fleet agreed to transfer part of the formations of light surface forces to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry's control. In the long term that state's naval forces would be formed from them.

At present a package of documents is being drawn up which will clarify the status of the Black Sea Fleet and will take into account the interests of all the independent states of the Commonwealth.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Comrade Admiral, will the oath be administered to the fleet, as the Ukrainian leadership has announced?

[Kasatonov] No, our fleet will not take the oath! Throughout their illustrious history, Black Sea sailors have faithfully and truthfully served the whole fatherland and have brought glory to the entire fleet. We refuse to swear loyalty to independent Ukraine alone. Sailors of the Black Sea fleet, and they represent dozens of nationalities, have always defended the motherland here, and the millions of sacrifices they have made bear testimony to that.

From the editorial office: It has become known that servicemen of combined units and units of aviation and airborne troops are asking President Kravchuk to reconsider his decision on administering the oath to personnel.

Soldiers Refuse To Take Ukraine Oath

To Be Airlifted Out

OW0601164192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first 100 officers who serve in the garrisons reattached to the Ukrainian national guard and who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine will leave their garrisons. On Tuesday [7 January], they will be airlifted to Russia where they were called to the Soviet Army. By agreement with the Defence Ministry of the former Union, beginning January 6, 850 servicemen who have refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine will be moved to Moscow, St. Petersburg and Gorkiy.

On Sunday [5 January], Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said that all of the units and forces located in the Ukraine, with the exception of those belonging to the strategic forces, would be made organic to the Ukrainian armed forces. Mr. Kravchuk also said that by January 20, 1992, the servicemen of the Ukrainian armed forces would be put on the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine, and urged all servicemen "to make their choice soberly and tranquilly, and decide where they will continue their service".

On January 5 the oath of allegiance was taken by the national-guard regiments of Kiev, Lvov, Dnepropetrovsk and other Ukrainian cities.

The national guard was set up on the basis of the interior troops located in the Ukraine. The range of the national guards' duties include the defence of the constitutional system, the maintenance of law and order, and participation in ceremonial welcome. On Sunday, the replenishment of the Lugansk garrisons was put on the oath of allegiance of the Ukraine.

Officers 'Confused', 'Worried'

LD0601215792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Report by Yu. Reshetnikov and A. Musikyan; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] It appears that the former Union's officers are confused and worried by the Ukrainian leadership's decision to make the servicemen on the territory of the republic retake their oath of allegiance.

[Begin Air Force Colonel A. Gavrilov recording] The officers' meeting urgently asks and appeals to all Ukrainian officers and to officers of other republics not to swear the oath of allegiance, their second oath of allegiance, to any republic. Such actions will cause a chain reaction in other republics, and in the final analysis, will lead to incomprehension regarding the status of servicemen themselves. [end recording]

A split in the Armed Forces as they are today would be inequitable as far as most former Union republics are concerned.

[Begin Gavrilov recording] It is no secret that the best units, divisions, armies, and all formations generally are deployed along our forward lines, while in the main it is the reserve units that are to be found on the territory of Russia, that is to say Ukraine and Belorussia, in this respect, could get more battleworthy units than any other republic. [end recording]

Colonel Gavrilov serves on the territory of Russia, but what course of action is open to those who how have turned out to be on the territory of the Ukraine, and who soon must make their choice?

[Begin recording of Major A. Popkov, deputy squadron commander in the Carpathian Military District] Esteemed presidents, in accordance with the order of the minister of defense of Ukraine and of the Carpathian Military District Headquarters, troops must swear an oath of allegiance between 15 and 20 January. That is why I address you on behalf of the Carpathian Military District servicemen, Kalinov settlement, and I think that I express the feelings of all those who do not want to take the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine because this order affects the fate of many officers and warrant officers, and their family members. It is simpler for Ukrainians—they are at home—but what awaits us, people of a different nationality? Who waits for us at home? Who will give us housing? Who will give us our pensions? To this very day, the leadership of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces has failed to resolve this problem, although they said they would not leave us for a second or a minute. We ask for answers to these questions to be given to us as soon as possible so as to avoid conflict. People have become tired of this lack of clarity. [end recording]

Indeed, a reply must be given. Here is an INTERFAX news item: In Kiev today, the first 100 servicemen of

military units who refused to take an oath of allegiance to Ukraine will bid farewell to the standards of their regiments tomorrow, when they will be ferried to Russia. Sergey Belozertsev, a former deputy of the former USSR Supreme Soviet, stated that a number of crews of the warships of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet had refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Ukraine. Should they be forced to do so, it is planned they will get away to Russian waters, the Pacific Ocean, for instance.

[Video shows oath of allegiance ceremony and an Orthodox priest giving his blessing; text of appeal entitled "An Appeal of the Long-Range Aviation Directorate Officers' Meeting to all Army and Navy Officers, Parliaments, Heads and Governments of Independent Commonwealth States." Video also shows officers' meeting attended by Shaposhnikov in civilian clothes; tanks moving along a street]

District Document Appeals for Unified Forces

LD0401220192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1730 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] We have just been sent a curious document which was adopted at a meeting of officers of the Turkestan Military District. Behind it lies the pain and the fate of thousands and millions of people, and although it will take about four minutes, I'll allow myself to acquaint you with it. And so, this appeal was adopted by the officers of the Turkestan Military District and addressed to the presidents and ministers and chairmen of defense committees of the independent states of the Commonwealth and to the commander in chief of the Commonwealth armed forces.

The officers of the Turkestan Military District take a respectful attitude toward the processes of creating a Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] and to the way in which measures are being consistently implemented to strengthen the sovereignty of the state independence of its founders. We understand that many long years will be needed to escape from the deep crisis and for the CIS to come into being. These will be years of severe tests for the historic friendship and fraternity of our peoples—certainly in the memory of those generations which stood at their roots—tests of adherence to good sense, reason, and the ability to make the correct historical choice. Particular dispassion and ability to see far ahead is required of the military sphere, on the state of which the peace and security of future generations will depend.

We are convinced that in our specific conditions greater guarantees for ensuring the security of each of the Commonwealth states will be provided by a collective settlement of military questions accompanied by the existence of single armed forces. At the same time, the position taken by the leadership of Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan, and partly, the Republic of Belarus, is aimed at dividing the armed forces. We think that this road is economically ruinous and fraught with a protracted decline in the level of security and defence capability of all of the states and of the Commonwealth as a whole, and the main thing, it carries the danger of a possible rise in the use of national armed forces in resolving disputed issues and conflict situations which have already appeared in the field of the economy.

All of this is fraught with new convulsions, victims, thousands of deprived people. Nor can it be forgotten that this road will aggravate the already painful processes in the lives of tens of thousands of officers and warrant officers, among whom even today an absolute majority are expressing a desire, in the event of the division of the armed forces, to return to their republics, which will, in its turn, lead to a catastrophic fall in the level of the fighting efficiency of units and formations and to the acute complication of questions concerning the social security of servicemen and members of their families.

As professionals in military matters, we believe that it is still not too late to take responsible, balanced decisions. We are proposing looking at the possibility of concluding an agreement between Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, and the republics of Central Asia on single Commonwealth armed forces, without excluding the possibility of Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan subsequently joining. We ask that our views be taken into account regarding defense blueprints, and we also insistently demand that legislation be adopted in the shortest possible period of time determining the status of officers and the procedure for the conduct of their service, and guaranteeing observance of servicemen's civil rights on the territory of the independent states of the Commonwealth, and an interstate accord on social guarantees when they are discharged into the reserve.

On joining the armed forces we took an oath of allegiance to all the peoples inhabiting the former Union. In spite of everything, we have carried out and continue to carry out the tasks entrusted to us. We are entitled to expect considered, balanced decisions on the whole range of military questions and the social problems of servicemen and members of their families.

Adopted at a meeting of officers of the Turkestan Military District.

Shaposhnikov's 4 Jan News Conference Viewed

PM0601220992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Report by N. Belan: "When We See Clearly It Will Horrify Us: Notes From Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov's News Conference"]

[Text] Such, unfortunately, is the custom here: It is usually only anniversaries connected with the independence and freedom of the fatherland that encourage the recognition of our army and prompt broad public interest in its past and present. But the days of celebration will pass and, as one of my fellow countrymen noted at the turn of the century, "people will go back to sleep again, deep sleep."

This year began against a background of such interest. However, it is not the approaching jubilees that are the reason for it, even though there are quite a few of themin 1992. We will be marking the 750th anniversary of the rout by the Russian forces under Aleksandr Nevskiy of the Knights of the Livonian Order on the ice of Lake Chud; it is 380 years since the liberation of Moscow from the Polish interventionists by the people's volunteer detachments headed by Minin and Pozharskiy, the 300th anniversary of the founding of the Russian fleet—Peter the Great's "toy" flotilla at Pereslavl-Zaleskiy, 180 years since the Battle of Borodino, and the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Stalingrad. Each of these events is a sacred milestone in our history—and on contact with them which Russian's heart does not miss a beat and fill with pride at the exploits of our forebears, our fathers and grandfathers. Through the murmuring of time we will hear, as they all heard, the words of Svyatoslav, Prince of Kievan Rus, addressed to the soldiers: "We will not bring disgrace upon the land of Russia if we lay down our lives because the slain know no disgrace."

Such intense interest in the Armed Forces, their present and future, is due to the collapse of the USSR. The Minsk meeting of leaders of the CIS at the end of December did not finalize everything—on the contrary, it seems that there are more questions now than there were before. For example, to whom will the Armed Forces belong and what kind of forces will they be? Reports in the press and on radio and television are full of genuine anxiety. The forecasts are disquieting. Of necessity we are beginning to understand anew and to seriously ponder the experience of history and the behest of our forebears, in particular Peter the Great, who advised how to manage defense matters in the state "so as not to consign ourselves to the fate of the Byzantine Empire." And who said that the army, being a special class of state guardians, protectors, and defenders, represents the state's vital energy; and that the destruction of this organizm will have unpredictable consequences.

This idea came to mind at the news conference for Soviet journalists on Saturday, 4 January, given by Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces. The commander in chief looked worried, noticeably tired, and his answers were brief. Yevgeniy Ivanovich began with a statement on the situation developing around and within the Armed Forces.

"From the beginning of the creation of the CIS we sought and, it seemed, found mutually acceptable ways of resolving the most important questions of the future organizational development of the Armed Forces," he said. "We were confident, too, that the process of their reform would take a civilized course. Without infringing the rights of each state to its own armed forces, we hoped that these questions would be resolved consistently, stage by stage, on the basis of accords, not on the spur of the moment, as is happening today. In this respect we highlighted problems relating to servicemen and members of their families. I am sure that people in uniform have earned the right to respect and a solicitous attitude toward them. At the same time we are seeking to preserve as much as possible the combat capability and combat readiness of our combined units and units."

However, the commander in chief went on, the leaderships of a number of states, primarily Ukraine, have shown haste and a lack of mutual understanding in the solution of these most important and most complex questions. In particular, it has announced the transfer to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry of three military districts and the Black Sea Fleet which include units and institutions regarded as establishments or units for the backup of strategic forces. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry has issued an order separating the troop control and notification systems from the General Staff. On 5 January servicemen will begin taking the Ukrainian oath. In this regard some leaders of this state have unambiguously stressed that anyone who does not swear allegiance to Ukraine may leave or resign. Is this really a civilized approach? Some 75,000 officers of Russian nationality are currently serving in Ukraine along with thousands of Belarussians and Central Asian and Kazakh representatives...

Currently Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov is receiving hundreds of letters asking, demanding, and even begging him not to let people be thrown out of the service and to create humane living and working conditions. These appeals come not only from Ukraine but also the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, the Baltic region, and Moldova. Our editorial mailbag is also filled with similar letters. "Help us!" officers, their wives, and children beseech us. But how are we to help them if legal chaos is raging all around like a hurricane.

But I know that there will come a time when we will all see what we have done and be horrified. The burning shame before our defenders will make us lower our eyes. Because this has already happened more than once in history, including our own country's history. Is the lesson of history really that history teaches us nothing? And if there are no authoritative figures for us now among our contemporaries, let us listen to names from history. "If the position of the military man in the state is considered troubled, difficult, and dangerous compared with that of other people, then it is, at the same time, distinguished from them by an indisputable honor and glory because the soldier overcomes difficulties which are often unbearable, and without sparing his life safeguards his fellow citizens and protects them from their enemies and defends the fatherland and the holy church from enslavement," Count S. Vorontsov, the well-known military and political figure from Catherine II's time, wrote. Here is another testament, the product of more than one generation of suffering: "Woe to that army in which the officers' spirit is crushed." I would add: Woe to the state which has such an army.

Therefore, how can one disagree with Marshal Shaposhnikov, who stressed in particular:

"I do not think that our people's interests are served by the disintegration of defense and the Armed Forces, even though such decisions are being made on the people's behalf. I am convinced: all the states of the Commonwealth need reliable defense."

The commander in chief went on to note that letters in support of his position are coming in from leaders of the administrations of krays and oblasts. Recently he talked with Moscow Mayor Popov—the latter is worried about the position of officers serving on Ukrainian territory and about the situation of choice in which they have been placed by the adoption of the new oath. The mayor told the commander in chief that Moscow is ready to give every assistance to officers who may be forced to leave Ukraine if the situation develops that way. Well, Moscow is setting a worthy example to other Russian cities—a historic tradition.

"I would like to believe that it will not come to people's having to move like that," Marshal Shaposhnikov continued. "And because I bear responsibility for the fate of people in uniform and members of their families, for the state of the army and the fleet, and the security of the Commonwealth states, I appeal to the peoples, parliaments, and esteemed leaders of the states of our Commonwealth to show the utmost reason, sense of balance, and sobriety when deciding the fate of the Armed Forces."

There is every reason to put the question in those terms. When this news conference was in progress it emerged that the talks in Kiev between the Black Sea Fleet command and the Ukrainian leadership had ended unproductively because it had not been possible to convince the latter that the fleet is part of the strategic forces and, according to the Minsk agreements, cannot be considered Ukrainian alone.

"At present," Marshal Shaposhnikov said, "the Ukrainian leadership regards only the strategic nuclear forces as strategic forces."

In answer to my question, Yevgeniy Ivanovich said among other things:

"I am profoundly convinced that the leaders of the independent states who want their own armed forces do not see all the problems that they could encounter. Ukraine, for instance, is laying claim to the Air Forces. Yet on its territory there is not a single combat aircraft construction plant. In six months at most the planes stationed in Ukraine will stop flying. There will be no engines, spares, or wheels. At the same time there is no mechanism whereby these things will be supplied from Russia—either by barter or for hard currency. Thus I think that these and similar questions should be resolved first before fundamental decisions are adopted. Clearly, there must be a certain transitional period, two to three years, and after that officers can be resettled from one independent state to another if necessary.

Yes, it is unusual and distressing to hear such things as resettlement. A line of poetry came to mind: "I live waiting for the great nomad encampment..." The same, it seems, could be said about the officer's life, wandering from garrison to garrison. But today the "nomad encampment" is different. If you bear in mind that there are around 200,000 homeless servicemen in the Armed Forces today, you can only guess at how that situation will be aggravated by new "nomads" from the independent states.

Increasingly often I find myself thinking that we do not fully grasp the scale of the problems—or, more precisely, of the catastrophe which will be caused by the division of the Armed Forces. An old parable comes to mind: A father died and left his house to his sons. The latter began dividing it up log by log. As a result they destroyed their father's home and were not able to build one each for themselves. But that is one aspect of the matter, this is the other: Our best armies and divisions are concentrated in the western regions of the former USSR and in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. One can only guess at how much equipment, strategic stocks of food, fuels and lubricants, and God knows what else there is on Ukrainian territory. All this information is clearly secret, but from the experience of the Great Patriotic War you can make a rough guess. So is Russia, for example, to be deprived of all this? If so, do its western borders remain open?

Such doubts stirred in the soul. And these thoughts seemed to be borne out by the interview given by R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, broadcast in the "Vesti" program. He firmly stated that the army was created "with the overwhelming support of Russia... All the fleets, for example, naturally, are completely subordinated to Russia." The head of the Russian parliament judged attempts by individual states to marshal them under particular banners or administer oaths to them as utterly unlawful. "All our servicemen should feel assured," Khasbulatov said. "They will be under our protection—the protection of the Russian Federation."

I am not going to comment on that statement. But undoubtedly it commands respect. May God grant the Russian leadership firmness in this principled, open, and honest stand. That is what I was told by officers with whom I have exchanged impressions on Khasbulatov's statement in the past few days. It is only the voice and stand of Russia that can stop the Armed Forces from being divided up now, they said with hope.

Incidentally, there is another fundamental question. It was raised at the news conference: It is the question of to whom the military units still stationed in the East European countries should swear the oath.

"I think that it is time for the Russian parliament to adopt an oath for Russian servicemen," was the answer.

Today, in Marshal Shaposhnikov's opinion, one can speak only about the joint armed forces of the CIS

members, not about united armed forces. I should like to believe that common sense will prevail here because there will be no economic gains for the peoples of the independent states from the division of the armed forces. Furthermore, a lot has been said about the fact that we have lived together for so many years and have such a rich history, so would it not be better to seek counsel in that history and its experience?

Economic & Social

Citizens Polled on Politicians, Price Hikes

LD0401144192 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 4 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo January 4 TASS—A public opinion poll conducted by the Japanese economic newspaper NIHON KEIZAI found that Russian President Boris Yeltsin enjoys the highest popularity rating among government leaders in the former Soviet Union.

His programme of economic reforms is on the whole supported by the population, but this cannot be said about price liberalisation, which was negatively received.

The main findings of the survey, which was carried out by NIHON KEIZAI in all 15 republics of the former Soviet Union in November-December 1991, were published today.

Responding to a question on which politician in the former Soviet Union deserves the highest level of confidence, 37.7 per cent out of the 2,000 participants in the poll named Boris Yeltsin, 23.8 per cent—former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, 23.3 per cent—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, 17.7 per cent—St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak and 12.8 per cent—former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Evaluating the Russian president's activity under the ten-point system, ten per cent of those polled gave him 10 points, 20.2 per cent—from seven to nine points, 35.4 per cent—from four to six points, 31.3 per cent—from one to three points. Two fifths of the respondents said they supported the concentration of power in Yeltsin's hands and over one quarter were against.

Over a half of those polled are unanimous that reforms should be implemented at a faster pace and more consistently. They support the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States and call for boosting economic ties among its member-states.

The study showed that the prime concern for residents of the former Soviet Union is the increase in prices (81 per cent), the shortage of food and basic consumer goods (77 per cent) and the soaring crime rate (52 per cent) rather than the danger of a new coup or a dictatorship (5 and 5.1 per cent respectively) and the disintegration of the Soviet Union (17.1 per cent). Almost three fifths of the respondents described the current prices as exhorbitant.

The poll showed that many elements of reforms, proposed by Boris Yeltsin, enjoy the support of Russian residents. The move to introduce free market prices was approved by only 25.9 per cent of the Russian participants in the survey and 56 per cent were against.

Over half of the Russians does not share Yeltsin's view that living conditions will improve by this autumn, while slightly more than one third of those polled believe they will.

Transition From Union to Commonwealth Viewed

PM0601101392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy "Commentary": "The West Believes Gorbachev, the Russians Believe Yeltsin"]

[Text] Of those polled, 23.7 percent think:

—That the USSR has finally ceased to exist;

66.2 percent think:

—That the country will be reborn as the Commonwealth of Independent States;

And 70 percent:

—Will not support Gorbachev if he appeals directly to the people.

The time span between Minsk and Alma-Ata amounts to just 13 days. It seems this time frame is too small for the glutted world community to digest in qualitative terms the radical changes that have taken place during this period across one-sixth of the underprovisioned earth's surface. The West has only just begun to grow accustomed to the results of the victory won by the Russian leadership and the Muscovites over the August conspirators, it has only just injected some urgency into its leisurely reflections that Yeltsin missed his opportunities and did not exploit the results of the August victory, unlike Gorbachev, who, on the contrary, displayed tremendous tenacity and resilience and whose political career is starting to pick up again. And suddenly, within a matter of days, it becomes apparent that Yeltsin has apparently not wasted a single day. Between 8 and 21 December, starting in Minsk and finishing in Alma-Ata, the USSR—the artificial creation of the Leninist-Stalinist Bolshevik party—collapsed in its entirety, and a qualitatively new formation has been created—the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The commentaries and political reviews about these events that flooded out of the West are distinguished by one basic characteristic: Doubt, or else poorly concealed misgivings about the viability of the Commonwealth. On the whole this attitude is understandable. The cautious West would first of all like to take a close look at the workings of the new formation, whether it will fall apart,

for example, owing to the struggle between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh or as a result of strife caused by economic issues. But the main problem, it seems, is not this, but the fact that the West would first and foremost very much like to preserve the unity of the former USSR, albeit in the form of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and second, it does not want to let Gorbachev quit the political arena. The fact that the Commonwealth has been established virtually in the teeth of the strongest opposition from Gorbachev and hence there is no way he can head it (and in general nobody can head it, since it is a Commonwealth of Equals), has somehow not been considered by the West. However, this too is understandable. In six years of perestroyka, Gorbachev demonstrated beyond any doubt that the way he behaves with prominent leaders of the Western world is always the same. Right now I am not going to expand on this formula, but it is so.

With Yeltsin it is different. He has, and from the very outset has had, no other interests at heart besides those of Russia. He sees the fulfillment of these interests taking the form of close contact between Russia and Western countries, and the integration of Russia into the common historical mainstream of civilization. This determines the existence of a common line of development with Western civilization (and Yeltsin's fashioning of such a line). A common line, but not an identical one. And this makes all the difference. It is a radical difference. Because it presupposes the full preservation of Russia's national individuality and its inclusion into common world civilization, from which the Bolsheviks forcibly ripped it in October 1917, an organic and natural inclusion that preserves Russia's individuality intact, however.

Between 16 and 23 December ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, in conjunction with the Center for Comparative Social Research headed by V.G. Andreyenkov, conducted a public opinion poll about the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States in 22 regions of the Russian Federation. A total of 998 people over 18 years old were polled at home by means of a direct interview. The interviewees were selected at random. In 95 percent of cases the margin of error does not exceed plus or minus 3 percent.

The survey showed that, following the Minsk accords, only just over 20 percent of the population of the Russian Federation continue to consider themselves citizens of the USSR. More than 66 percent consider themselves citizens of Russia.

In the course of the poll the respondents were asked an open question: They themselves had to name what form of state they saw emerging on our former state's territory in the future. A total of 23.7 percent answered that, in their opinion, the Soviet Union has finally ceased to exist, and 66.2 percent answered that the country would be reborn as the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Despite the widespread opinion that the people are tired of politics, that they are ceasing to take an interest in the state's future, and that they only think about how to get essential foods, the poll results show that the Russian population is keeping a careful eye on the activity of the Russian leadership. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that 68.8 percent of those polled had either read documents about the establishment of the Commonwealth or were well acquainted with the contents of such documents, and 62.4 percent think that the establishment of the Commonwealth is a positive political event.

At the same time the poll results show that the population of the Russian Federation found it quite hard to approve of the Russian leadership's decision. To some extent the surprise announcement of the abolition of the USSR even provoked some bewilderment at first. To the question "Do you think the announcement on abolishing the USSR is in order?" almost 48 percent of those polled answered that this announcement should perhaps have been discussed first in the Supreme Soviet of each republic, and maybe a nationwide referendum on the issue should even have been held.

The poll results show that, in proceeding to take this step, Yeltsin sensed the mood of the Russian population subtly and precisely, whereas Gorbachev in his active distaste for the Commonwealth relied exclusively on his speculative constructs. As is known, immediately after Minsk he called for an Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies to be convened with the aim of torpedoing these accords, and even threatened to make a direct appeal to the people for support. However, the poll showed that an overwhelming majority of the population of the Russian Federation (68.3 percent) sees no need to convene an extraordinary congress to do this, and with regard to supporting the USSR president if he appeals directly to the people, about 70 percent answered that they would not support him. Moreover, 62.6 percent of those polled expressed the firm opinion that Gorbachev should resign, 6.8 percent believed he could be left as commander in chief of the unified strategic forces, and 17.2 percent believed he could play a coordinating role in an interstate administrative organ.

Of course, the Commonwealth that has been created is faced with a complex and difficult period of establishing itself and developing. There are already inconsistencies in the way it operates, and these will not disappear in the future, they may even get worse. But history has offered the Russian leadership the only chance to save the country from collapse, and the leadership has not let this opportunity pass by.

Unemployment of More Than 20 Million Predicted

PM0601152392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 1

[INTERFAX report under "In A Few Lines" rubric]

[Text] More than 20 million people could find themselves without work in the short term within the Commonwealth

of Independent States. A statement to this effect was made by Igor Yurgens, General Confederation of Trade Unions Council secretary, in an exclusive interview with a RIKA [not further identified] correspondent.

Economy 'Once Again' 'Hostage to Policy'

92UF0416A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Irina Demchenko: "The Minsk Meeting: Commonwealth for the Sake of an Unpopular Reform?"]

[Text] The most striking result of the Minsk meeting of heads of state of the Commonwealth is, evidently, the complete absence of any documents on the economic reform, which began just three days after the meeting. Practically the sole document regulating economic relations among the leaders of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] remains as yet the agreement which was signed in Belovezhskaya Pushcha on behalf of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine and which declaratively repeats the basic propositions of the Economic Community Treaty, which did not come to fruition.

The reason for the particular cautiousness of the heads of state and government making more difficult the achievement of accord in this vitally important sphere amounts, evidently, to the fact that the absolute majority of them came to power to slogans of struggle against the totalitarian center and for national independence and full sovereignization. An isolationist economic policy was in many republics a most important component of policy in general, on the surety of which the credit of public trust was sought—and obtained.

In this connection the leaders of Russia and Ukraine have found themselves in a very difficult position, and their problems have ricocheted throughout the space of the former USSR. Having announced the start of reforms, Russia has not had a chance to close its borders, create its own autonomous economic space, and introduce its own currency or, initially, some surrogate and take the remaining necessary actions. Ukraine, in turn, has not had a chance to prepare for comprehensive reform anything hardly, other than a national currency.

The CIS thus emerged largely as a forced alliance born rather of the impossibility of parting than of a desire to continue to exist as one. But it would seem obvious that one nuclear button and the common Chernobyl tragedy, granted all the importance of these problems, are, for all that, insufficient grounds for the states' unification, unless, of course, it is a question of a purely military-political alliance. It has thus far been a question, as ensues from the statements of the heads of the independent states, in any event, of a commonwealth which is to be built primarily on common economic principles.

But at the same time there is not today, it would seem, a single economic concept appropriate to the conditions of the Commonwealth. All previous programs were oriented toward administration and coordination from a single center, and none can be mechanically adapted to conditions where there are 11 centers, the borders for commodities and citizens are still transparent, the legislative base is different everywhere, the action of a single currency within a sufficiently large space is confined to coupons, the living standard of the populace differs fundamentally, and so forth.

It is clear that this cannot be the Russian concept of reform. Nor is it geared to everyone, although it would seem to be the one that is best-prepared. It is possible, come to that, that it merely seems to be inasmuch as no one has seen the program itself and the calculations in respect of it, and we have been forced thus far to rely—or doubt, depending on the store of personal optimism—on the promises of B. Yeltsin that there will be an improvement by the year's end.

Truth to tell, the success of this reform would seem unlikely, and the greatest doubts, what is more, are evoked by the measure which the Russian government doggedly calls price liberalization. By all outward indications this is simply another "Pavlov-type" increase, described by the president of Russia as a temporary measure, furthermore. Clearly, "winding up," when one so desires, true freedom of prices will probably be far more difficult than, for example, freedom of speech.

Nonetheless—and this is very significant—it is this measure that is failing to evoke objections from the leaders of the other sovereign states. Their position was essentially expressed in the demands for the financial institutions to be provided with the necessary money supply. The reason for this passive approach is to be found, I believe, in a desire to carry through a necessary and extremely unpopular price reform at the expense of another authority. In fact, Russia, having seized hold of the printing presses common for the entire ruble space (which initially in a fit of temper it had been proposed that it share) has itself provoked its own future problems.

Now the entire social fury of the population of the Commonwealth brought about both by the leap in prices and the shortage of ready cash will undoubtedly be aimed at the Russian reformers. In fact, the heads of the other states have already acted out the role of solicitous defenders of the citizens' interests in the face of the economic cataclysm embarked upon by their "elder brother," who, for a number of reasons, is not all that beloved as it is.

If this forecast is justified, the CIS will, shortly after the price liberalization, fall apart, not having had time to take shape, inasmuch as the main political goal uniting its members will have been achieved. It will then at least be clear why the results of our national "summits" are so meager. And a process which M. Gorbachev recently very successfully called the "pupation" of the economy will occur in the 11 states.

In principle there is nothing new or surprising about the fact that our economy is once again, as under socialism, a hostage to policy. Only the market, perhaps, could

invert this pyramid, and the transition to it will, as is now being discerned with a high degree of probability, take perhaps somewhat longer than promised by the presidential candidates in the course of their election campaigns.

Political Affairs

Shevardnadze Comments on Political Situation

LD0601211692 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1930 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Interview with former USSR Minister of External Relations Eduard Shevardnadze by French TF-1 television correspondent on 5 January; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Could you take on the responsibility of heading the political movement in Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] You know, in my view, there is no such acute need there. I know many leaders who really are taking part in this struggle, a struggle for their fatherland's democratic renewal. They are worthy people, enjoying significant support. As for my participation, all this will depend on the will of my people.

[Correspondent] Defense Minister Marshal Shaposhnikov regards the current situation in the Armed Forces as critical. This is because there are disputes concerning the division of nuclear weapons between republics, and the like. Do you, like him, think that the situation is indeed critical now?

[Shevardnadze] At the moment, I would not call the present situation critical, but it is very difficult. If you have followed my remarks in public, basically I have been saying that major problems are going to arise. It will not be as simple to solve everything as is set out in the agreements in Minsk. It will not be that simple, since the Union was formed over the course of decades, and not only the Union, but also the enormous formation of the Russian state. The dismantling of a formation like the Soviet Union, with enormous economic—and especially military—potential will not occur in such a painless manner. Without a doubt, there will be keen debates and possibly more wide-scale actions, perhaps even clashes. I do not rule out such an extreme, so to speak, possibility, so sensitive are the problems that going to have to be solved.

So far, only a first, what I would call, modest step has been taken after the formation of the Commonwealth. This is not yet a Commonwealth. What has been signed so far are simply agreements, treaties, or protocols on intentions. Good, fine intentions to form a Commonwealth, but as for how to divide up the Armed Forces, including strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, conventional weapons—and as you know, conventional weapons now have immense destructive force, immense destructive potential—all this will become the subject of the keenest debate, the keenest debate. This alarms me.

No doubt you have been following the television bulletins. The contradictions that are making themselves felt already following the two meetings between the presidents of the sovereign states are alarming.

[Correspondent] Who in your opinion should control them, the Ukraine or Russia? And how in general should one get out of this dispute?

[Shevardnadze] At the beginning, you know, I thought that the Commonwealth would control them. That, I think, is how it was conceived, but now, naturally, the interests of the Ukraine have made their appearance, and there are the totally legitimate interests of the Russians. The negotiations will be very difficult, very difficult, and very complex, very complex, the more so if one talks realistically about the mood among the military; they have gone different ways, the majority of them are in favor of supporting the president of the Ukraine, others are in favor of being subordinate to Russia. If to this one adds the mood among the population in both the Ukraine and Russia, then I think one ought to have an idea of just how dramatic the present situation is.

[Correspondent] Do you think that these differences between the Ukraine and Russia about the Navy could develop into a conflict or do you not see that kind of option?

[Shevardnadze] I hope very much that it will, all the same, be possible to find a solution with the help of political means and as the result of dialogue, serious dialogue. I think that both the leadership of Russia and the leadership of the Ukraine understand perfectly well what the situation is and what the consequences might be if they do not manage to reach agreement. That would mean disaster, not just for the two peoples, the two states, but for Europe. I would like to believe that these leaders are sufficiently wise and are able to find a common language on such a complex issue as the one we are discussing now.

I think that at the present stage this is a task that is very difficult, but attainable. Still, where is the way out? We must find a way out. On the one hand, I place great hopes on the fact that we can do business, that there will be a serious dialogue between the leaders of the sovereign states; that is the first thing. Second—and perhaps this is the main, the most important thing—is a more forceful development of the European process, the process of disarmament and of arms reduction on the European and worldwide stage. It is necessary that this matter not come to a stop; that is the main thing. I see in the development of the whole European process a way out of this deadlocked situation which has come about on the territory of the former Soviet Union: A great Europe—a Europe not only from the Atlantic to the Urals, but a Europe from the Atlantic to Vladivostok. I see the construction of this great single Europe, in the long term, as a way out of this most difficult situation.

[Correspondent] Can one not say that there is a kind of Tbilisi syndrome; is it possible to say that there is such an expression?

[Shevardnadze] There will be such an expression. When it is over, then I think we will be able to speak about a Tbilisi syndrome. Still, I think that in the near future we will be doing business with another state, with another people, and another socio-political system.

[Correspondent] And other leaders, too?

[Shevardnadze] They are doing so already. They now are waging this; they now are heading what I would call this real struggle for democracy.

Scientific

Suspension of Buran Space Program Urged

927Q0050A Moscow KURANTY in Russian
21 Dec 91 p 8

[Article by Engineer B. Olesyuk: "The 'Buran' Blind Alley"]

[Text] **They bring tour groups here and describe in rainbow colors the "space heroism," committed on 15 November 1988. On that day, our space shuttle Buran made its first two-circuit flight around the globe. The Buran flight was controlled from this magnificent room. But what is here now is the BURAN BLIND ALLEY.**

During the last few years, the Space Flight Command Center in Podlipki, near Moscow, has expanded considerably. A new facility, built specifically for Buran flight control, glitters with the sun reflecting in the countless windows.

The building looks nice from the outside—a combination of concrete, glass, aluminum, and plastics.

In contrast, a large room from which control over the reusable space vehicle flight is done, makes a strange impression—it looks deserted; dead, cemetery-like quiet hangs over it. New control panels with turned-off monitors look like orphans. Only large information screens come on occasionally, and the representation system's electronic display lights up.

This is because during the last three years the impressive room with the modern control equipment has not been used for its designated purpose. By a whim of fate, it was turned into a sort of a museum.

A lot of time and events have passed, but the so-called reusable space vehicle never made a second trip to the orbit. In the beginning of the year, the newspapers were writing that Buran's second unmanned experimental flight would take place in March; then it was moved to December. But this was not to be, either. Why? A sad but, alas, unarguable fact: because of the difficulties with financing, the timing of the next Buran launch is being postponed until December 1992.

Everything related to Buran is idle these days. The vehicle itself, tightly swaddled in covers, stands still in proud loneliness in one of the hangars of a monumental assembly and testing building at the cosmodrome; the giant service gantries at the launch complex are immobile; and the control room at the flight control center lays silent. Also on the cosmodrome, the powerful 170-million-horsepower Energiya booster peacefully "dozes" on its immense erector cradle.

What happened to it, this space aircraft? What is its "transgression?" Some say that, to put it mildly, we have tripped over our own feet with Buran; others are inclined to believe that we have fallen flat on our face with it. I would put it in even harsher terms: A serious strategic miscalculation has been made. Our winged space vehicle has not withstood the trial of time, while the space agency, represented by the currently defunct Ministry of General Machine Building has suffered a complete fiasco.

At this point, reasonable questions arise right away. Why was Buran built? Who made such a fateful error? And, in general, how did this precipitate idea come to life in the first place? It is difficult to establish now who was the first one to say "eh." There is, however, this tale. Leonid Smirnov, former VPK [military-industrial complex] chairman and a member of the same Dnepropetrovsk team, in his regular report to Brezhnev on the state of our space efforts, once mentioned in the end: The Americans are intensively working on a winged space vehicle. Such a vehicle is like an aircraft; it is capable, through a side maneuver, of changing its orbit in such a way that it could find itself at the right moment right over Moscow—possibly with a dangerous cargo. The news disturbed Leonid Ilyich very much—he contemplated it intensively, and then said: We are not country bumpkins here. Let us make an effort and find the money.

Thus, from a talentless manager's serve, an erroneous decision was made by the general secretary. Made by one man with immense power and shallow mind, and on top of that not possessing even elementary knowledge of space issues.

Of course, nobody dared to contradict "No. 1." The VPK leadership took the instructions from the four-times Hero of the Soviet Union as gospel. In the documentation, the idea of creating the Buran is justified by the necessity of maintaining military-strategic parity with the Americans. Another person who was successfully pushing this concept was then Central Committee Secretary D. Ustinov, in charge of defense and space issues. Once again, economic interests were sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

At the price of immense effort by the entire nation—after all, 80 percent of the national scientific potential works for the VPK—the task was indeed accomplished. Unlike the Americans, it took us 14—rather than nine—years, although we were traveling along an already beaten path. It took a long time to resolve the problems

of the oxygen-hydrogen engine on the second stage of the Energiya booster; there were many other problems. Plus, the Buran technology is far from simple. For instance, it took two years of painstaking, intricate work to glue the tens of thousands of heat-insulating ceramic tiles on the vehicle. For fairness sake, our scientists, engineers, and workers who participated in the creation of the Buran-Energiya system, should be given their due credit. In incredibly difficult conditions, they overcame an immense number of problems and fulfilled the task. Nevertheless, sad as it is, nothing good came out of it, and could not. Expenditures on the vehicle turned out to be unjustified.

Buran's first flight was a success; it also caught everybody unprepared. A key problem arose: How to use the vehicle in the future? No matter how they looked at it, they could not find any civilian space payload for Buran. In 1974, when the work was started, this grandiose project had been seen as a military program. Later, our Pentagon rejected it as holding no future promise.

The people have a moral right to know what the Buran program cost, and how much more needs to be invested to bring it to its logical conclusion. There is an answer to part one. During its 17 years, the program has swallowed over 17 billion rubles [R]. And the result? Zero. Plus, I have grave doubts about this figure—I do think that the numbers had been fudged.

In 1989, for the first time during the space era, our parliament dared to announce the amount of expenditures on the space program: R6.9 billion. Can one accept this figure on faith? Of course not.

In 1989, the USSR sent 100 apparatuses into orbit; the United States sent 24, Europe sent 10, and Japan sent two. Simple arithmetic shows that the Soviet Union had launched three times as many space objects than the rest of the world combined. What are the real expenditures? By American experts' estimates, in 1989 the USSR spent $33 billion (at the 1989 exchange rate) for its space program; the United States spent $30 billion, and Western Europe—$2 billion.

Using the partocratic language, our plans in the 1970's were of truly revolutionary scale. We were dreaming of building five reusable space vehicles—as the Americans had done—and thus achieve complete strategic parity with them. However, we have to acknowledge with sadness that at this point for all practical purposes we do not have even one working vehicle.

We have driven ourselves into a blind alley. Let us try to sort out this problem. It is time to understand a simple truth: Our scientific and technological lag in relation to developed countries in the West is based on our lag in all other areas. The situation with Buran is convincing evidence of that. To consider our space shuttle a serious success of our space research is—forgive the pun—just not serious.

We have spent 14 years building the Buran, only to find out that it is unfit as a reusable vehicle. It is unbelievable but true: The vehicle received a certificate of flight fitness for just one atmospheric reentry. What is the reason? It is not enough to build a shuttle; one needs a certain quality metal for it. Right now, the vehicle is going through qualifying testing for a standard use of up to 25 times (the Americans use theirs up to 100 times). We do not know how many flights the Buran's cruising propulsion unit is designed to handle. As the first flight indicated, the heat insulation problem seems to have been resolved: of the 39,000 heat-insulating tiles, only four had fallen off. A second prototype—Buran-2—was being built for the second flight, but it is not completed yet.

Our space vehicle went through its space "baptism" only once, and in an unmanned mode at that. Let us ask ourselves a question: Do we have a right to call the Buran-Energiya system reusable? The answer is clear: No.

The best way to approach the truth is through comparisons. The Soviet Union is always in the position of the one catching up. In engineering language, it is in a permanent phase lag. Our designers are simply being overcome with this unbounded desire to travel again the road the American space researchers used 10 or 15 years ago. Our Buran is nothing other than a morally obsolescent analog of the American orbiter, its poorer version.

There are many who are still caught in the web of false perceptions and myths. Being several orders behind the United States by many economic indicators, we are carrying a burden of space-related expenditures that is incommensurate with our potential. The starting point of the Buran road were the leaders' ambitions, various considerations of prestige, and the "great power" policy.

Let us be objective and principled. Of the entire Buran-Energiya system—and even this stretches things quite a bit—only the vehicle itself (and this still needs to be proven) may be identified as reusable. On the orbiter, all components of the booster system are saved, with the exception of the fuel tank. Their space fleet of orbiters has made over 40 space flights.

The Buran delivery system—the Energiya booster—is a expendable device. This circumstance makes Buran flights much more expensive. Thus, a conclusion is begging to be reached: From every economic angle launching the Buran-Energiya system is not profitable. The Americans manage to prepare their shuttle for the next flight in two to three months; for us, three years has not been enough to send our Buran on a second trip. In short, no matter where you look, there is a problem there.

By the way, on the topic of economic effectiveness of reusable space vehicles. The American engineers committed an unforgivable mistake. Their calculations were not borne out in practice. For instance, the cost of lifting 1 kg of cargo into orbit is $9,190 on a Titan-4 booster, while on the orbiter it is more expensive—$9,750. The

designer—Cosmonaut Feoktistov—wrote about this hopeless matter at the time, but nobody took his prediction into account.

Now the moment has come when economics takes us by the throat and forces us to revise the entire space budget. So now we have come to the most important and major question: What are we to do with Buran? Is there a sensible way out of the blind alley? I dare to maintain that it is madness to continue with Buran under current circumstances.

Some propose to close the program; others—to freeze it until better times. In the current situation, we need a sensible, sober, weighted approach. What is the least painful way out? It is acceptable to mothball Buran, but it is not acceptable to close the program outright, as was done at the time with the superpowerful N-1 booster. I personally lean towards the idea of mothballing the vehicle. We are no longer talking about prestige here, only of the need to prevent the already spent billions from being thrown out in the wind.

The Energiya booster is at the very beginning stage of flight testing. How will it behave in the process of subsequent flights? We do not know it, but there are already serious warnings. It is known that an intermediate booster Zenith was built on the basis of the Energiya lateral unit and uses this lateral unit as its first stage.

Specialists have already discovered hidden and very serious defects that became apparent in the process of Zenith exploitation and have led to two boosters exploding during the first few seconds of flight. This is a very serious signal. Alas, four years later, everything has come a full circle: The testing of Energiya has to be restarted from square one.

Semenov Defends Programs

927Q0048A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Dec 91 p 6

[Interview with Yuriy Semenov, chief designer of Energiya scientific and manufacturing association, by TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova, especially for PRAVDA; place and date not given: "Yuriy Semenov: 'So Far, Common Sense Prevails'—Conversation Aboard the Flight From Baykonyr"]

[Text] **Under the airplane wing is the Aral Sea—begging for help, hopelessly damaged. Truly, "humankind has only one executioner—itself." And what will be the fate of the Baykonyr cosmodrome? This was the first question in our conversation with Yuriy Semenov, chief designer of Energiya scientific and manufacturing association.**

[Semenov] Baykonyr is our main spaceport. For decades, this is where they created the most sophisticated systems for assembly, testing, prelaunch preparations, and launches of space vehicles and rockets. There is a powerful manufacturing and transportation support infrastructure. There are residential areas with housing for thousands, where workers and specialists live in the harsh semidesert conditions. Any decisions on its future use should be made collectively, on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of circumstances and the opinion of all interested parties.

Unfortunately, there have been many hasty judgments and unfounded proposals lately. So far, common sense and sober appraisal have prevailed over the emotional intoxication, and our work still has not been disrupted.

In many respects, the cosmodrome's existence has changed life in this region for the better. Use of space methods has permitted a better understanding of the situation in Kazakhstan's environment and has produced recommendations on how to change it for the better.

This is the current purpose of a comprehensive program "Kazakhstan-Kosmos." I think that the announced decision to create in Kazakhstan a special agency for space research and utilization will help development along these lines. In addition, some new technical solutions we are working on are aimed at reducing the restricted land area needed to support a launch. In particular, we are looking at the draft rocket design with guided first stages that, instead of falling down in the steppe, will automatically land at the airfield near the launch area—as the Buran vehicle has demonstrated. The opening up of space cannot be the domain of individual agencies or nations. This is a universal humanitarian cause. Approached intelligently, any problems can be resolved, whether they are technical, organizational, commercial, or political.

[Kuznetsova] According to some reports, space-related expenditures may be cut considerably in the near future. What can you tell in this respect?

[Semenov] Yes, I have seen such statements in the press. At the same time, there is no doubt that human progress is unthinkable without space research. It is hard to find a sensible justification to cut the already modest appropriations for this purpose. Using the language of a market economy, these appropriations are an investment, whose effectiveness is beyond doubt; in no way are they expenditures, losses. It is important for those who call for such actions and those who write about it to remember this.

I would like to particularly underline the point that, unfortunately, it is the most advanced area in the entire space research—work related to manned spacecraft—that is especially vulnerable under the superficial appraisal of expediency that is common now. It will be very sad if the circumstances in our country become such that the size of state appropriations for fundamental research of the universe also starts to depend on the immediate direct effect expressed in real money.

In the past, we have seriously thought about wider involvement of scientists from the entire world in our work. Now it is acquiring special urgency, and we need to look for realistic options to work in this direction in the new, changed conditions. Many enterprising scientists and businessmen in a variety of countries want to conduct work in space but do not have the necessary technical base. Therefore, at this stage our task is to turn the Mir orbital station into an international laboratory.

[Kuznetsova] Please tell us about upcoming international projects on commercial basis. What are the real benefits?

[Semenov] We have been participating in international cooperation for 15 years. There are many examples of jointly using unique equipment developed through joint programs at the station. Commercial projects provide an opportunity for bringing hard currency into the country, thus providing additional financial support for the space program. As to the scale of the contracts, I can only tell that it is in the tens of millions of dollars.

[Kuznetsova] The figure lately being mentioned in the mass media in regard to defense expenditures is 25 percent of the gross national product. Can you tell what the real situation is in this respect and in regard to space research?

[Semenov] It is true that fulfilling a number of defense tasks (to be precise, remote observation and control over the compliance with disarmament agreements) traditionally had been a major part of research conducted from the space stations. Money appropriated for these purposes made it possible to develop optical instrumentation and methods of work that can be used for the ecological and natural science observations that are so important today. On the other hand, a certain impression of broad involvement in defense work is the result of the fact that the Baykonyr cosmodrome, the cosmonaut training school, and the network of ground tracking stations are a necessary part of it. The personnel who work there are military people; their pay comes from the military budget. I think that neither the former nor the latter should not convey a false impression of the militarization of our space research.

[Kuznetsova] Yuriy Pavlovich, can you tell us please what conversion is? For our people, for an individual—is it really a good thing? After all, the operation of the military-state machine, this "monster," is still hidden from us behind a shroud of secrecy.

[Semenov] Of course, in my view conversion is for the better. At the same time, it does not mean that a cosmonaut should become a pastry chef, or a chief designer be retrained as a cobbler. We see conversion first of all as a desire to use space-related means for the good of the humanity. I have already mentioned some of such projects; there are also others. The special features of our experimental plants and the talent of engineers and workers allow us to boldly undertake new unique tasks. A typical example: The achievements of technology built for the defense sector may be successfully used for major communications centers and fundamentally resolve the problem of information delivery in society. This is a working conversion that uses all our industrial and intellectual potential.

[Kuznetsova] "The Kaluga Dreamer"—K.E. Tsiolkovskiy—predicted that space would provide "mountains of bread" and "unlimited power" for humanity. As it stands today, the first part of the prediction does not hold water, to be honest.

[Semenov] You know, life has shown us more than once the danger of deferring to classics and founding fathers. The world has changed drastically since K.E. Tsiolkovskiy's times. Combining the efforts of all countries, coordinating all work, and concentrating the thought of all specialists is the way to create a truly powerful humanity. In this case, there is no need to draw the line of the permissible. As to the "mountains of bread," why does it not hold water? Space has opened new opportunities for us. Is a one-of-a-kind ability to tie continents together not bread? Or are not communications just as necessary for the modern society? Many of the latest events provide an affirmative answer to this question.

Of course, many quoted numbers on the effect of space research are just as much an assumption as the thousands of diggers replacing an excavator in the school arithmetics textbook. It is impossible to demand an immediate direct return from space research—as, by the way, from any other complex and energy-intensive field. Moreover, the happenings on the front line of science have never been recognized as pragmatically usable even by their inventors. A widely known example is that of Hertz and electromagnetism. The same may be said in regard to space technology. I think that even S.P. Korolev could not imagine at the time when the first sputnik was launched all the capabilities that we now cannot do without.

[Kuznetsova] As we are lately finding out on Earth, we are going—to put in mildly—in the wrong direction. As a chief designer, can you sincerely say that we have avoided this mistake in space?

[Semenov] Of course, as in any new business, there have been mistakes in space research, too; there have been tangible losses and human casualties. Not as many, however, as your colleagues have been describing lately. We have nothing to hide. All our failures are officially known. But there have also been noticeable successes and considerable achievements. The most important part is choosing the right road, the main direction, a goal. In this, I think, we have not made a mistake, as well as in choosing the development of orbital manned stations and the research conducted on them. Today it is obvious that the conditions of flight permit the implementation of the technologies of tomorrow. Nor have we made a mistake in choosing the strategy of building a heavy transport system—Energiya-Buran. The powerful

vehicle can provide a solution for global problems for all humanity: influence in a beneficial way the atmospheric ozone layer, remove radioactive waste from the planet, or provide light to polar regions. All of this requires powerful equipment which we already have.

[Kuznetsova] I understand that Buran is your pet project. But has it not been standing in the hangar for too long? Is it not too costly?

[Semenov] Creating a vehicle such as Buran is a large undertaking. It is a complex task, literally at the edge of technological thought. Of course, it is an expensive idea by itself, but it is justifiable as a methodical step towards the means of transport of the next century—cheap, ecologically clean, and effective. As a means of transport for our program, Buran is somewhat ahead of schedule in the development of the future orbital system where it will be irreplaceable. As to it gathering dust in the hangar—let me assure you as a specialist that we are preparing the vehicle for its next flight. The work is proceeding in accordance with the program that does not envisage as frequent flights as the Americans do because they do not have other capabilities. They have also arrived at the conclusion now that as a means of delivery it is unjustifiably expensive.

[Kuznetsova] One more thing—as they say, "very personal..." It still remains a mystery to me, an inconceivable twist of fate—the announcement of Central Television that the number one ticket to space among Soviet journalists belongs to me. Putting aside personal emotions, I want to give a reminder that six journalists are being prepared to take off through the Space for Children program. I want to ask: Will there be a time in the foreseeable future when a person, without lengthy and harsh training, will be able to buy a ticket—let us say, through Aeroflot—to an orbital station?

[Semenov] Taking into account our commercial services, one may say that such a time is already here. The fact is, however, that not too many can afford a ticket to space, but I personally do not have much doubt that the preparation for it will be considerably simpler as time goes by. Provided, of course, that we continue the developmental work and keep gaining experience rather than folding the programs.

Media

Ostankino Company Broadcasting Facilitated

PM0701110392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 4

[Report by V. Ivanov: "Television Space Week by Week"]

[Text] From a Russian presidential decree: "...In conjunction with the governments of the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States, a procedure is to be set up to facilitate television and radio broadcasting by the 'Ostankino' company on the territory of those states."

Ukraine: In the New Year inhabitants of the republic will be able to watch two Ukrainian Television programs, the Central Television First Program, and the Russian Channel, we were told by L. Komyshanchenko, deputy general director of Ukrainian Television.

INTERFAX reports that a process of switching over [perekommutatsiya] television broadcasting channels is under way in the Ukraine. The more powerful transmitters which used to broadcast the Central Television First Program will now be used to transmit Ukrainian Television's first program, and "Ostankino" will be given the broadcasting channel used by the republic TV.

Belarus: Television viewers in this republic will be able to watch a Belorussian television program, the Central Television First Program, and the Russian Channel, which will be operating at full capacity from the New Year, Belorussian television program planning and coordination department chief Andronov told us.

Inhabitants of Siberia, the Urals, the Far East, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia will as usual be able to watch "Orbita-4" broadcasts, which include the first and second Central Television programs, the Russian Channel, and St. Petersburg Television broadcasts.

Lithuania: On 1 January 1992 a second national television program appeared in the republic. It broadcasts on the channel on which, before the New Year, the Central Television First Program was relayed in full from Moscow. At the moment the Central Television Second Program is still being relayed in full.

The most educated viewers will apparently be those of the Russia's Central Zone; this is the only territory where the education program will be received.

Moldova: Here the situation is more complex. INTERFAX reports that all efforts to conclude a contract covering payment for relaying Russian Television and Radio Broadcasting Company and "Ostankino" broadcasts on Moldovan territory have ended in failure. T. Andros, republic minister of information, information technology, and communications, said that for the time being, in the first days of 1992, the ministry would cover the relaying of the former first all-Union program at its own expense and risk.

International Affairs

Yeltsin Delays Tour Due to Military Problems

LD0401140892 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to the Moscow based newspaper IZVESTIYA, the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, has delayed the planned tour of the country because of the unresolved military problems.

Transition to World Prices in Trade Postponed

LD0601181792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1739 GMT 6 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—The transition to world prices in Russian-Latvian trade has been postponed for three months. This was agreed upon by participants in the working meeting between the two republics' government delegations, which took place in Moscow today. Vladimir Mashits, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Economic Cooperation, who took part in the meeting, told the TASS correspondent that during the first quarter of this year, Russian-Latvian trade would be carried out at contractual prices in rubles. The same deferment was granted to Lithuania and Estonia; corresponding agreements were concluded with them last month.

The sides also discussed the issue of supplying the former USSR's troops stationed in Latvia. Mashits said that the sides had agreed to set up a bilateral commission to examine all the issues related to the army.

Visa Procedures With Estonia To Be Revised

OW0701035692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The St. Petersburg and Leningrad region administrative section agreed with the Estonian Border Protection Department that as of 15 January the visa procedure for residents in the border areas of the St. Petersburg regions and Estonia will be simplified.

The Mayor of St. Petersburg told a "BF" [BALTFAX] correspondent at the Committee for Foreign Relations, that the procedure for simplifying the Russian-Estonian border crossing for citizens will involve the introduction of special one-year passes for 1992 in border administration sides [as received]. A certificate declaring place of residence or land-holding in the border region of a neighbouring state will be the basis for issuing these passes.

At the end of January the St. Petersburg Mayor's Office and Estonia are expected to sign a protocol establishing the similar border-crossing procedure for citizens having relatives or working in the border areas of either Estonia or Russia.

Latvian Delegation in Moscow for Trade Talks

LD0601225692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent S. Milyanchikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting in Moscow of representatives of the leadership of Russia and Latvia has begun. Despite pickets outside the Latvian Embassy and White House, here in Staraya Ploshchad there was discussion only of issues connected with trade and economic cooperation between the two republics. The Russian delegation is led by Deputy Head of the Government Yegor Gaydar, and the Latvian delegation by Prime Minister Ivar Godmanis.

One of the main questions at the talks was the discussion of supply of oil, gasoline, and electricity to Latvia. For many years Russia was Latvia's main supplier of energy carriers, and moreover at state prices. How will accounts be settled after Russia arrives at economic reforms? Will the procedure for settling accounts for other types of products also be changed? We remind you that the agreement on trade and economic relations between the two republics for this year was signed on 8 December.

Mission Picketed

LD0601214192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A working meeting between Yegor Gaydar, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government, and Latvian Prime Minister Ivar Godmanis took place in Moscow today. Economic aspects of relations between the two republics were discussed. The Latvian mission in Moscow was, at the same time, being picketed by the Resurection Party, the Russian National Front, and the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. The pickets demanded that Sergey Parfenov, the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] functionary charged in connection with the January events in Latvia, should be released from the Riga prison.

Georgian Foreign Minister in Moscow for Talks

LD0301200192 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankho Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Murman Omanidze, Georgian minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Moscow today, the RIA agency reports. He stayed in the besieged government house in Tbilisi. He has come to Moscow, according to RIA, to

meet the Russian leadership. The aim of the talks is to put an end to the civil war in Georgia.

Gavan City Gives Kazakhstan Pacific Outlet

LD0601150592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] An agreement on cooperation has been signed by a Kazakhstan Government delegation and the administration of Sovetskaya Gavan city. Kazakhstan will obtain an outlet to the Pacific Ocean; it will participate in constructing an ore port and social amenities in Sovetskaya Gavan, and will have the opportunity to use the commercial port to dispatch freight to countries of the Asian and Pacific region.

Foreign Minister Churkin Holds Briefing

PM0601151592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev: "Russia Has Already Been Recognized By 105 States"]

[Text] To the surprise of many journalists, the first Russian Federation Foreign Ministry briefing of the year was chaired by Vitaliy Churkin, former chief of the former USSR Foreign Ministry's information administration. "The minister instructed me to chair this meeting as a representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry," V. Churkin explained in an exclusive interview for IZVESTIYA. As for the actual press center on Zubovskaya Street, we have learned that it "will remain at the Russian Foreign Ministry's disposal."

At the briefing the chairman announced that as of today 105 states (including Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) have recognized Russia as an independent state. V. Churkin stressed that foreign states see the Russian Federation as "the state that is the successor to the USSR." On this basis, many of them believe that recognition of Russia goes without saying and a special declaration of recognition is not required.

Reaccreditation of foreign ambassadors in Moscow and ambassadors who represented the former USSR abroad is not required either. The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry has made an official appeal through the heads of diplomatic missions in Moscow to the governments of foreign states, asking them to regard the former USSR's diplomatic and consular missions in their countries as diplomatic and consular missions of the Russian Federation.

In accordance with the concept of the Russian Federation's international activity as successor to the USSR, Russia will implement all the USSR's treaties as a party to these treaties, and will act as the depositary in some cases. (The depositary is the state or international organization that keeps the original text of an international treaty—Editorial note). It is on the basis of this concept that our embassies and consular establishments abroad have become Russia and they now fly the Russian Federation flag.

The independent states that used to belong to the Soviet Union do not have direct diplomatic relations with foreign states at present. Therefore, Russian representatives abroad will promote contacts between the governments of the states they are in and the new states that have taken shape in place of the USSR. Russian diplomats will also help them in the exchange of documents of a diplomatic nature and will provide consular services for the citizens of sovereign states who hold Soviet passports.

Answering a question from U.S. correspondents, V. Churkin noted that many foreign states have their own consular establishments in the capitals of former union republics which could be turned into embassies. But in view of the vast expense involved in the maintenance of foreign relations, it is unlikely that all the states that have been formed on the territory of the former Soviet Union and the foreign countries will agree to a direct exchange of embassies in the very near future. In these conditions diplomatic representatives of the Russian Federation could (if the interested parties were to reach agreement on this score) represent the new independent states' interests abroad.

On Mideast Peace Process

LD0301161592 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 3 Jan 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—"Being co-initiator of the Middle East Peace process, the Russian Federation intends to continue active efforts to promote progress in the Arab-Israeli talks," Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

Churkin said the Russian leadership regarded the December bilateral talks in Washington "as one more step towards a cardinal improvement of the situation in the Middle East". "In these conditions," Churkin noted, "all the parties to the peace process must display maximum restraint and constructiveness in order to keep up a favourable political and psychological atmosphere around the talks, to prevent unnecessary complications."

Churkin stressed that the Russian leadership displayed no less attention to the Palestine issue than the former USSR leadership did and would exert every effort to ensure the proper observance of the Palestinian people's rights.

Bakatin View on U.S. Embassy Bugs Questioned

PM0701092392 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 52, 29 Dec 91 p 15

[Report by Yevgeniya Albats (Ye A.) incorporating interviews with Lieutenant General Vadim Bakatin, former

head of the Interrepublic Security Service, and an unidentified official of the USSR Ministry of Defense Main Intelligence Directorate; place and date of interviews not given: "Walls Have Ears"]

[Text] The fact of the Interrepublic Security Service [ISS] (the successor to the KGB) handing over bugging devices installed at one time by the KGB in the new American Embassy building in Moscow last week has been called a scandal that will have a sequel in the future.

Newspapers reported that this act of goodwill was exclusively the personal initiative of Vadim Bakatin, head of the ISS. A rumor started going around that Bakatin is being removed from his high post in the committee for this reason. Then there was Boris Yeltsin's decree on the formation of a single Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs.

MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI asked Lieutenant General Bakatin, former head of the now former ISS, to comment on this scandal.

As you know, the scandal began back in 1982, when the Americans "collared" us during the construction of their embassy. Thereafter we lied diligently, assuring them that we did not install anything there, but naturally we suspended any work on the American Embassy.

This fall I assembled some specialists. I asked them: Is there anything valuable there? They answered: No, the layout and equipment are old, they were designed back in the 1970's. Not to mention the fact that the Americans knew a great deal about it: They had scanned the building using tomography. All the cables were pulled out and the tunnels were filled in. Yet we continued to lie. We asked the Americans for money, but we continued to lie.

When Baker was here last time, I proposed that the question of handing over the blueprint to the Americans be discussed. I invited U.S. Ambassador Strauss to come and see me, and said: Whatever has happened, we are prepared to put an end to this Soviet-American scandal. The proposal was discussed by Bush. At the beginning of December, Strauss came to see me and reported that the American side thought very highly of our proposal. Admittedly he stressed: This act of goodwill by the Soviet side does not impose any obligations on us. (On the Americans—Ye.A.)

[Albats] So the Americans do not intend to take out the bugging devices in our embassy in Washington?

[Bakatin] There is no need for this; we know what they have done there, we know the blueprints and have "cleaned" our embassy.

[Albats] Was Gorbachev present at these talks?

[Bakatin] Of course. Both Gorbachev and Yeltsin were. Back in September I sent an appropriate letter to the USSR president and he wrote the following instructions: "Sort this out with Pankin." Then I called Yeltsin. He was also in favor. I spoke to Shevardnadze and later Kozyrev. Both said: Thank God that our lies are finally coming to an end. In December, before handing over the blueprints to Strauss, I called Yeltsin again. He answered: "When we first talked about it, I told you to go ahead." But do you think that I should resolve such questions by myself?

[Albats] So the talk that you are being removed because of this "goodwill gesture" is no more than a rumor?

[Bakatin] It is true that I am leaving. But I am leaving because the ISS is being abolished by a Russian presidential decree, as is the Federal Security Agency, and a single Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs is being formed together with the militia.

[Albats] This has already happened twice in our history. In 1934 there was the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs], and in March 1953 there was the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which also included the Ministry of State Security. Is history not teaching us any lessons?

[Bakatin] There is one danger here, of course: When they existed as two separate structures, the militia and the KGB could monitor each other. But as far as I am concerned, the main thing is that the eternal reshuffling of the bodies has come to an end, and a stable situation of sorts is taking shape. [Bakatin ends]

Vadim Bakatin did not make clear whether he believes that the new transformation of the KGB organs is definitive. However, no one knows this at the moment. In the corridors around the committee people are making fairly gloomy jokes like: We are waiting to be given militia whistles.

I do not think that Boris Yeltsin's Decree No. 289 will bring the stability Bakatin spoke of. Although it is too early to draw any conclusions, at the moment, the following fact can be stated: A most mighty power structure, which will number over 1,200,000 people, is being formed in Russia today. Under another of Yeltsin's decrees, the Central Intelligence Service has also been transferred to Russian jurisdiction, and on the basis of all the evidence, will remain autonomous for the time being.

Certain experts believe that the story of the American Embassy may also have a sequel. Admittedly many of them are refuting worries that the Americans will demand $300 million from us in compensation for what they spent on the construction of the building. The United States is now allocating $400 million to us, three-fourths of which is intended for ensuring the security of our nuclear installations and the elimination of nuclear weapons. They will scarcely take dollars for the embassy out of the empty Soviet pocket with their other hand.

There are fears that other diplomatic services located in Moscow will also demand the same act of goodwill. Security officials are making the following comment: "Let them find them first."

A typical detail: The head of Soviet intelligence, Academic Yevgeniy Primakov, whose department, incidentally, was also involved in the American Embassy scandal, found out about the handing over of the blueprint from the newspapers.

An official from one of the scientific and technical subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Defense Central Intelligence Directorate, who cannot reveal his name for professional reasons, presented the editorial office with another point of view about the case of handing over the blueprints of the electronic monitoring of the new American Embassy building in Moscow.

[Unidentified official] I believe that this step has damaged the country's security. Let me explain.

On the international market, the removal of all kinds of bugging equipment and other kinds of intelligence equipment costs $100 **per cubic meter** according to minimum assessments. The estimated expenditure involved increases when they are removed from state institutions such as embassies. That is precisely why the Americans believed that it would be cheaper for them to demolish their building than carry out such measures.

How can these high estimates be explained? By the fact that it is not enough to discover **what** has been installed within the walls, you also have to have at your disposal specific methods for discovering such equipment. What happened in the American Embassy? What was installed there was not just listening equipment, that is, microphones, but more importantly, means of tracking the embassy's electronic devices and monitoring information going out, and also enabling our agents to work within the embassy. I will not go into details. In brief, during the construction of the building, through our efforts, some of the iron reinforcing rods in the construction panels were used to carry out not just their basic functions, but also intelligence functions. Naturally, when they found out about this, the Americans started investigating. This is done partly by means of high-frequency radiation and also with the assistance of ultrasound tomography. As a result, the investigator obtains a certain picture on the screen that must be further studied and analyzed. So he is now faced with a difficult problem. He sees something suspicious on the screen, but is it a piece of intelligence equipment or a weld or flaw in the framework?

We have now handed over the blueprint. The problem is not that the Americans will find our devices: Bakatin is right when he says that the devices are old and the Americans now have far more sophisticated equipment. The problem is that now, having received a precise blueprint and knowing what it is they can see on computer, what electronic picture the given instrument creates, they can formulate a method to discover such equipment in other places where there is a suspicion that Soviet intelligence has been working. Furthermore, having removed this instrument from the panels and walls, they will develop technology capable of finding the given device. As a result, the U.S. special security services will obtain knowledge about our technology in gathering information and will correspondingly significantly reduce our possibilities in the work of obtaining intelligence information.

[Albats] Will the Americans be able to use this building as an embassy?

[Unidentified official] If they do some work on it, then they will be able to. It is another matter that they will scarcely do so. After all, it is known that apart from electronic equipment, what is known as passive equipment is also installed. For example, a kind of metal bracket [ugolok] can be activated by means of a beam of radiation from a distance or even using the natural radiation background.

But I am sorry, but it is not the Americans who are worrying me now so much as the people who worked on our side. What I have in mind: I do not doubt that all the documentation on the construction of the building has been kept. This means that, roughly speaking, the Americans know where every nail and every panel came from in our construction.

[Albats] Including the ones from Finland?

[Unidentified official] In brief, the American special services now have very interesting work before them, looking for these people. Living people whom we have simply given away in our "act of goodwill."

[Albats] Do you have any idea how you can explain Bakatin's step and that of the state leaders who sanctioned it?

[Unidentified official] Incompetence.

[Albats] But after all the former chairman of the former ISS consulted specialists. Naturally Bakatin does not know about the finer points you have mentioned, and cannot know about them. After all didn't someone tell him that our equipment is old and that it is of no value to us?

[Unidentified official] They did. But there were other people who are involved in the design and use of such equipment who said that the blueprint should not be handed over to the Americans.

[Albats] Maybe they did not really push their case? Why? Did they thus want to set Bakatin up, as security officials do not cherish any special feelings for him for a number of reasons?

[Unidentified official] I do not think so. There is probably a different matter at stake here: Those who see the

chairman do not know the details of the matter. The specialists, however, the real specialists, do not visit these offices.

[Albats] Forgive me, but if handing over the blueprints to the Americans really undermines the country's security—and more precisely the possibilities of intelligence and counterintelligence—so seriously, then maybe they should have found a way to get to the important man's office and insisted that they have their way? However, I understand that this is not a question for you to deal with. There is another question which should not be directed at you either: Will our state security become more competent now that it is headed by a man from the militia?

Further on Bakatin

PM0701104992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 92 First Edition p 1

[Andrey Zhdankin commentary under the "At First Hand" rubric: "Bakatin Slammed the Door Behind Him"]

[Text] Reports on the "Christmas" gift to the Americans from Interrepublic Security Service Chief Vadim Bakatin at the close of his security services career have already appeared in the press. He issued the American side with location diagrams and samples of the bugging devices in the new American Embassy building in Moscow.

Nor was this Bakatin's only "quirk" during his time at his last post. Through USSR KGB Directive No. 140 of 1 September, Bakatin, having already assumed his duties as head of this department, set up a commission to conduct an official inquiry into the activities of USSR KGB officials and organs during the coup d'etat. The commission came to the conclusion that the majority of committee leaders—deputy chairmen, directorate chiefs, central apparatus chiefs, the secretariat—had in one way or another participated in preparing and effecting the putsch. Some had written the drafts of Yanayev's decrees, others ordered the establishment of overt surveillance of people's deputies, and others were tasked with listening in and jamming government communications and deputies' telephones.

As a result of the inquiry, the commission proposed—in accordance with the "Regulations Governing Military Service by the Officer Corps"—that 13 men be discharged without a pension for discrediting the rank of Soviet officer (Article 61). In line with Article 59, a further 13 men were recommended for discharge for dereliction of duty (professional unsuitability). Another "group of comrades" were to be either discharged for reasons of age, demoted by one rank, or warned about dereliction of duty. Naturally, the commission's materials and conclusions were put on Bakatin's desk.

In Bakatin's order, read out in the committee, there was no mention of the discharges, only the demotions and warnings. In fact the putschists were "whitewashed."

Information from an account of this situation by Aleksandr Kichikhin—an expert on the parliamentary commission investigating the reasons behind the putsch—indicated that in actual fact all of these men continued to watch over state security. A particularly large number were concentrated in one key subdivision—the Information Analysis Directorate [IAD]. Kryuchkov's former deputy, Ageyev, became IAD deputy chief. Vorotnik, former chief at Directorate "Z"—for the defense of constitutional order—who issued the order to close radio stations and newspapers, became a consultant on domestic political questions. His former deputy, Dobrovolskiy, is also a consultant in this directorate. Third Directorate Deputy Chief Perfilyev was moved sideways to become deputy chief of the Seventh Directorate. There are also some quite astounding transformations: Former Third Main Directorate Deputy Chief Bulygin, recommended for discharge by the commission for reasons of professional unsuitability, actually "grew in stature" and became Third Main Directorate chief. The list could go on.

Some officials believe that the maneuvering and the reshuffling in the artificially created Interrepublic Security Service is allowing putschists to escape responsibility and hide in the shadows until "better times."

Likewise, there are no convincing explanations for the situation regarding the "gift" to the U.S. secret services. Aleksandr Kichikhin comments on this, and his comments contains facts previously ignored:

The information given by Bakatin to Ambassador R. Strauss comprises state secrets. "Information on the organization or operational working methods of state security and Interior Ministry organs"—this is Paragraph VIII of the "List of the Most Important Information Comprising State Secrets." This information is absolutely confidential.

Colossal damage has been inflicted on the country—its true scale is difficult to determine, but it runs into billions of dollars.

The embassy saga has been going on for almost seven years now. The Americans knew that such devices were installed in the building, but they were unable to detect them because they did not know their whereabouts, the installation methods, or the principles for operating the apparatus. Undoubtedly equipment is installed in other places too using this very same method.

This is very expensive equipment which is manufactured individually. It is developed by highly-skilled scientific collectives. Such work requires massive scientific potential.

Now the Americans have access to this potential. This potential operated not only for the department's benefit, as it may appear, but for the country's benefit. For

example, a trip abroad by the head of state involves prior assessment of the visit not just by the official diplomatic services but also by the intelligence service through their specific systems involving the use of such apparatus. A leader must leave with prepared proposals: He must know what questions will be asked and the range of answers, how much loans and economic agreements will be worth, and much more.

All states act this way, including the United States. Now we will be deprived of reliable information insofar as the Americans will work out an "antidote" and we will have to devise other methods and apparatus. This requires colossal funding.

So long as the RSFSR Criminal Code contains an article stipulating the punishment for any disclosure of state secrets, approval for such "goodwill gestures" cannot be granted by anybody, even the head of state.

Of course, it is dishonorable to put bugging and spying apparatuses in the embassy—it is a relic of the Cold War—but neither should it be permitted to inflict such massive damage on the state.

Major of Justice Popov, Moscow City Soviet people's deputy and Chairman of the Subcommission for the Struggle Against Crime, presented Russian General Prosecutor Stepankov with a statement requesting that criminal proceedings be instituted against Bakatin under clause "A" of Article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code—treason against the motherland in the form of disclosing information comprising state secrets. The deadline for an answer is 10 days, and it expires on 2 January. According to our information, Bakatin has taken two weeks' leave.

Kalugin Remarks on U.S. POW's, KGB Plans

PM0701101292 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Artur Blinov and Vladimir Skosyrev: "There Was Contact, But Only Once... O. Kalugin's Statement on Meetings Between KGB Staffers and American Prisoners Is Discussed Heatedly in United States"]

[Text] Washington and Moscow reacted more or less identically to the sensational revelations by retired KGB General Oleg Kalugin. In several interviews given to AP and U.S. television companies, he broached a topic that is extremely sensitive to Americans—servicemen missing in action in Vietnam. It emerges from the interviews that in 1978, that is, five years after Hanoi declared that all prisoners of war had been released, our state security staffers interrogated three Americans who were still in Vietnamese hands.

These reports were greeted with a healthy dose of skepticism across the ocean. As a Pentagon spokesman said, O. Kalugin was unable to reveal any information making it possible to continue the investigation, and in particular he did not name the American prisoners of war. Another reason for doubt on the part of U.S. officials: "Kalugin claims that the three the KGB staffers talked with were part of a 'group of a few men, 10 or so,' left behind or detained in Vietnam after the official repatriation. The United States knows of only one U.S. prisoner of war who remained in Vietnam, but later left for the United States."

On the other hand, the interviews with the dissident general, who at one time challenged the USSR president and head of government and was elected people's deputy, contain details that could only be available to someone who was well informed about the operation in question.

O. Kalugin says that he was the leader of the project, although he personally did not go to Hanoi. The KGB staffers talked with the prisoners of war without recourse to blackmail or other forms of pressure. He says that during the conversations several interesting, but not very important pieces of information were obtained. Moreover the Americans were asked about the possibility of their working for Soviet intelligence in future, but their answers were deemed unsatisfactory. "It was not exactly a refusal, but it was rather an ambiguous response," Kalugin said. No one subsequently made use of the home telephone numbers supplied by the prisoners.

Which of "our people" actually talked with the Americans? One man is named in the interview—Oleg Nechiporenko. According to AP, at one time he worked at the Soviet consulate in the capital of Mexico.

So according to Kalugin it seems that KGB staffers, one of them Nechiporenko, tried to extract secrets from Americans in trouble, and even to recruit them. An operation entirely in accordance with cold war morality, and therefore by no means improbable. But the natural question is: What do our "competent organs" have to say on the subject?

The press service of Russia's foreign intelligence service did not deny that a meeting with one American in Vietnam did indeed take place. Nechiporenko went to Vietnam and talked with the American, who was suspected of belonging to the CIA. But this happened not in 1978, but in January-February 1973. The Vietnamese authorities, who were extremely sensitive on the question of prisoners, after the first meeting informed the Soviet side that the American had refused further contacts. That was the end of the whole episode.

Be that as it may, the story will undoubtedly be continued. Congressman S. Solarz, who is in Hanoi, has stated that he will find out from the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry what they think about the Kalugin interviews. After all, the fate of American soldiers missing in action in Indochina (there are 2,267 of them) is one of the obstacles in the path of the normalization of relations between Hanoi and Washington.

In the next few weeks there will also be hearings in a special committee of the U.S. Senate on the question of

prisoners of war. Committee chairman Senator J. Kerry said that Kalugin has been invited to the hearings.

In short, the general still has to convince the Americans that he made these revelations solely in the interests of the truth.

Vladivostok, San Diego Start Satellite Link

LD0601223892 Moscow TASS in English 2225 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Alla Rozorova]

[Text] Vladivostok January 7 TASS—Preparations for the world's first permanent satellite television link between Vladivostok and San Diego, U.S.A., are being completed. Its organisers are the local associations of the twinned cities, which will have legal rights to use it. The first session of a direct screen acquaintance is scheduled for January 18-19.

The company Dalsimresurs acted as a sponsor of the independent television link and the firm Dalintertelecom provided satellite communication. The 17th channel of the San Diego television network was one of the U.S. sponsors. The Vladivostok administration and the municipal authorities of the U.S. city lend support to the undertaking.

"This will be a totally new level of communication between the twinned cities," says Oleg Semenov, president of the Vladivostok-San Diego association. "It will enable residents of the two cities to discuss promptly and in a democratic manner issues pertaining to any sphere of public activity, science and culture, implement joint programmes in education and hold commercial talks."

If successful, the experience of the first satellite link will become the point of departure for establishing similar contacts among residents of other U.S. Pacific cities and Russia.

Yeltsin, Canada's Mulroney Discuss Aid Issues

PM0601131992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 92 p 1

[Report from PRAVDA-TASS column under the general heading: "News Beat"]

[Text] The Russian president's press secretary reported on B.N. Yeltsin's telephone conversation with Canadian Prime Minister B. Mulroney, during which they discussed various aspects of Canadian aid for Russia in the implementation of planned reforms.

Yak-42 Airliners To Be Supplied To PRC

LD0701101192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0205 GMT 7 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Oreshin]

[Summary] Beijing, 7 Jan (TASS)—A contract worth $69 million for the supply of six Yak-42 120-seater passenger airliners has been concluded as a barter deal between China and Russia. The first aircraft has left Beijing airport to operate in Shanxi Province. China will receive the other five in the course of the year.

Ice Ferry Opens Food Exchange to China

LD0601192492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1509 GMT 6 Jan 91

[Text] On January 9 an ice ferry across Amur river between Khabarovsk region and Chinese province Heilongjian will start operating. An official of the regional maintenance center Khabarovskavtodor Georgi Redka told [POSTFACTUM]: The first trip from the Heilongjiang Province will bring several thousand tons of grain and foodstuffs to the Khabarovsk region. The Chinese side asked for mineral fertilizers still abundant in Khabarovsk in exchange for grain and food. Citizens of the Jewish Autonomous District will become first consumers of the Chinese goods.

Miyazawa Cited on Territories, Aid Plans

PM0601135192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 92 p 5

[TASS report under the rubric "There Is No Union, But the Problems Remain": "Clarification Awaited from Russia"]

[Text] Tokyo, 2 Jan—During his New Year news conference, Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa called for a Russian-Japanese summit meeting to be held as soon as possible to discuss primarily the "northern territories" problems.

The head of the Cabinet of Ministers noted that Russia and Japan should achieve progress as soon as possible in solving the problems of the "northern territories" and that Tokyo expresses the hope that the government of the newly emerged sovereign Russian Federation will make its position clear to Japan with regard to this painful issue in their bilateral relations. K. Miyazawa also confirmed that Tokyo perceives Russia as successor to the former USSR's functions in the international arena. This does not mean, he indicated, that Japan will not develop relations with other former Soviet republics, but ties with Russia will be given paramount attention.

According to the prime minister, Japan considers it necessary to render primarily emergency humanitarian aid to the member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and plans to implement as soon as possible the aid programs which Tokyo announced earlier for the former Soviet republics. K. Miyazawa indicated that there are no plans yet to grant large-scale financial assistance, since it is necessary to initially define clearly at which stage it should be granted and how it should be used in order that this assistance is effective.

Vorontsov Addresses UN on Palestinian Issue

LD0701102192 Moscow TASS International in Russian 0030 GMT 7 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Excerpts] UNO, 7 Jan (TASS)—Yesterday the UN Security Council unanimously passed a resolution emphatically condemning the deportation by Israel of 12 Palestinians from the Occupied Territories. [passage omitted]

Yuliy Vorontsov, the permanent representative of the Russian Federation at the United Nations, noted that all participants in the Near East peace process without exception are required to display maximum restraint and constructiveness to maintain a favorable political and psychological atmosphere around the talks which were started at the Madrid conference. On the basis of this, we view the statement made on the eve of the fresh round of talks by the Israeli authorities concerning the deportation of a group of Palestinians as a gesture further complicating the establishment of mutual understanding and introducing a spirit of confrontation among the participants in the talks.

Vorontsov gave an assurance that as co-sponsor of the Near East peace process the Russian Federation intends to continue making active efforts to advance the talks between the Arabs and Israel. The Russian leadership regards the Palestinian problem with no less attention than the leaders of the Soviet Union in the past. The Russian leadership will make every effort to have the rights of the Palestinian people duly observed. [passage omitted]

UN Envoy's SFRY Mission Praised

LD0601165492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—News of the successful completion of the mission by Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary general's personal representative to Yugoslavia, has been received with hope in Moscow, a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman stated. The Sarajevo agreement on a cease-fire between the Yugoslav People's Army and Croatian armed forces, signed with the mediation and direct participation of Cyrus Vance, could form the beginning of a long awaited truce in the protacted Yugoslav conflict. Favorable preconditions would be created thereby for beginning a political settlement of the country's interethnic problems. Paying due tribute to the efforts and persistence of Cyrus Vance, and to his personal courage, Russia welcomes the active involvement of the UN's peacemaking experience and resources for resolving the crisis in Yugoslavia, the Foreign Ministry spokesman stated. The conscientious and honest fulfilment of the Sarajevo agreement by the warring sides would give the "green light" finally for deploying UN peacekeeping forces in the crisis regions of Croatia.

Holding long-standing feelings of empathy toward the Yugoslav people, the Russian leadership is convinced that the most acute differences of a political, national, or other nature can be overcome if there is goodwill and a readiness for compromise in the name of the main aim—ensuring the people's well-being, the most important precondition for which, in the current, specific situation, lies in an end to the bloodshed. It is the duty of the world community and the United Nations to display maximum participation in the destiny of the Yugoslav people, and to help restore peace and concord in that country, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said in conclusion.

Energy Charter To Expand Resources

LD0601181292 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Alekandrova]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—According to Russia's deputy minister of fuel and power engineering Vladimir Dzhangirov, the main tasks of the European Energy Charter are to encourage foreign investments in the energy industry by lessening the economic risk to investors, help Russia raise energy prices up to the world level and give it access to modern technologies and transit.

The Russian Federation signed this charter, together with Western countries and most former Soviet republics, in The Hague in December, Dzhangirov told TASS.

The original version of the charter was clearly intended to give others access to Russian energy resources, but the recent instability in the former Soviet Union has undermined the foreign interest in our country. The charter offered elements of guarantees to investors, although it was no more than a declaration on the basis of which a legal document has yet to be worked out to provide dependable guarantees.

Nevertheless, a number of major projects have already been "set in motion". One of them is a 500 million dollar joint project with the French company Elf-Acquitaine to develop the oil industry in the Saratov and Volgograd regions.

Vladimir Dzhangirov expressed hope that the contract would be signed during President Boris Yeltsin's forthcoming visit to France.

Another project provides for Russia's cooperation with Germany and Italy in developing new technologies for gas-turbine power stations. A joint venture will be set up in St. Petersburg to use Italian and German technologies in manufacturing gas turbines. Credits will be repaid with electricity supplies until the year 2009.

Foreign investors are expected to participate in developing the Sakhalin shelf and a number of other projects.

Many proposals have been made by foreign countries, including France, wishing to take part in the development of nuclear power engineering. The Chernobyl syndrome has shut down some older nuclear power stations in this country and brought to a standstill some newer ones, the deputy minister said. But it does not mean that "we have given up the idea of building nuclear power stations once and for all. A new generation nuclear power station is now being designed."

Dzhangirov said the energy ministers of the Commonwealth member- states are due to meet in Minsk in the middle of January and expressed confidence that they will be able to reach mutual understanding. The Dingle power grid exists, and Russia, which owns between 70 per cent and 80 per cent of all energy resources, can sign bilateral agreements on energy exchange. Serious problems, however, may crop up in connection with demands to switch over to world prices.

UK UN Initiative To 'Strengthen' Yeltsin

PM0701092692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Reports from Aleksandr Krivopalov in London and TASS: "London Wants To Help Russia Join the European Community"]

[Text] [Aleksandr Krivopalov report] London—From 1 January the right to chair sessions of the UN Security Council passed to Britain. Official London wants to make use of this situation to take a major diplomatic step thought up by its foreign policy department—to convene a "summit meeting" in January.

This Security Council session, which would be conducted by J. Major, would be attended by G. Bush, F. Mitterrand, one of the Chinese leaders, and B.N. Yeltsin. So all five permanent members of the council would be represented at the highest level.

The British press writes that preliminary consultations have already been held. Commentators also associate the British initiative with a proposal put forward by the U.S. President. In his Christmas address he speaks of his desire to meet with B.N. Yeltsin as soon as possible in order to discuss the question of the fate of the nuclear weapons sited on the territory of the former Soviet state and other problems relating to the breakup of the USSR.

London makes no secret of its misgivings about what could happen if the problem of responsibility for the nuclear weapons now sited on the territory of several states that formerly formed part of the USSR is not resolved successfully. In an interview on Radio 4 the British prime minister stressed that it is not only a question of who possesses nuclear weapons, but of whether the smaller republics might sell this entire arsenal, or part of it, to people abroad. This may be a farfetched suggestion, but the possibility is not ruled out here.

The "summit meeting" at the UN Security Council, official British spokesmen stress, will offer a splendid opportunity to discuss this complex problem with B.N. Yeltsin. During the very difficult transitional period British diplomacy intends, for its part, to help strengthen the Russian leader's prestige, so that he is perceived as Gorbachev's successor abroad, too. In London's opinion this would help him to assume full responsibility for the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

The British prime minister believes that in order to ensure universal peace it is necessary to recognize Russia as the sole lawful successor to the state that has disappeared. J. Major therefore believes that the permanent seat on the Security Council belongs to Russia.

The views of the head of the United Kingdom's cabinet of ministers are very radical on other problems, too. He thinks that Russia should expect to be able to join the European Community in the future. The prime minister also believes that Russia should be granted full status on such important economic organizations as the IMF and the World Bank.

As in other Western capitals, on the banks of the Thames there is concern that all the commitments formerly undertaken by the former USSR in the military, economic, and human rights areas should be observed. This was particularly firmly emphasized by Foreign Secretary D. Hurd in an article just published in the DAILY TELEGRAPH.

While noting the importance of the speedy convocation of a UN Security Council session at summit level, British commentators do not forget another point of some importance: The leaders of the "Big Five" could get to know the new UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali better and reaffirm their desire to continue to devote special attention to the activity of this international organization.

[TASS report] As Britain's THE GUARDIAN newspaper reported Friday, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has supported Prime Minister John Major's proposal on holding a meeting of the leaders of the UN Security Council states at the end of this month to discuss a range of problems relating to the breakup of the Soviet Union.

UK's Major Encourages IMF Application

PM0601141992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from roundup of TASS and RIA reports: "Major's Advice"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has received a message from British Prime Minister John Major containing an urgent call for Russia to take the first opportunity to apply to the IMF and the International Bank for full membership of those organizations. That will give Russia the opportunity to enjoy those organizations' substantial financial resources.

British Beef Distribution Postponed

PM0601180992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 92 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Krivopalov report: "Cordon Sanitaire Against British Beef Entering Russia"]

[Text] London—The first consignment of frozen British beef forming part of the EC aid to Russia has, thankfully, been sent to Moscow.

The next "airmail package," also weighing 130 tonnes, is bound for St. Petersburg. The third flight is planned for Moscow. The consignments, generally speaking, are not all that large but nevertheless, as a prelude to larger-scale aid, they are undoubtedly important.

But there was an exasperating hitch with the shipment from London, as all the mass media in the United Kingdom felt obliged to report, and which, I think, left many readers, viewers, and listeners with a nasty taste in the mouth.

This is what happened. The first huge plane was due to leave at midday last Friday [3 January]. The EC is paying for this service, by the way. Agriculture Secretary John Selwyn Gummer and B. Pankin, our ambassador, were expected at Stansted Airport, where the plane was to have been loaded. But there were no speeches there, however, and the British cabinet member did not leave his ministry. There was no reason to do so. The flight, as was learned from Moscow, was held up. The 13 refrigerated trailers of beef were not unloaded. The next day, THE TIMES published two photographs taken at the airport: One shows an English driver reading a London newspaper headlined "Russia pays high price for freedom," the other shows our airmen holding copies of IZVESTIYA.

An emergency? Of course, an emergency. Although there is an explanation for it, apparently. The fact is that when the report on the delivery of meat from England reached the veterinary health directorate in the Russian capital, a minion obeyed the old ban and sounded the alarm: London could be sending us beef infected with mad cow disease or, to use scientific terminology, BSE, because quite a few cows have been affected by this in the British Isles. That being so, this meat should not be allowed in because this disease is unknown in our country.

All prohibition lists, even if there is some sense to them, should be updated, to say the least. This is clearly a display of meticulous caution. As specialists and, before that, N.Z. Zhiltsov, our agriculture attache, explained to me, there is no reason to fear the British beef. The meat entering the market fully meets all EC standards. Infected animals, according to the EC's rigid demands and British law, must be slaughtered and destroyed immediately—they are simply incinerated. All this is done under the supervision of the UK state veterinary inspectorate.

Because of Moscow's suspicions the departure of the first plane was delayed by 24 hours. The second plane was not loaded at all. The Foreign Office intervened. The diplomatic department gave an official assurance that the beef prepared for transportation to us is not suspect at all and that these consignments of beef have all the necessary certificates. The departure of the first plane was also helped by the fact that Ambassador Pankin contacted Russian First Deputy Premier Burbulis and explained the situation.

This British aid is the first major humanitarian shipment of 2,200 tonnes of frozen meat that are to be supplied to us by the EC. As for the British share, a Polish ship, the Buran, chartered by the EC, which is to transport 1,800 tonnes of beef to Leningrad [as published], is being loaded. The meat consignment is to be followed by powdered milk and butter. There is an obvious question, however: Will the vigilant but perhaps somewhat behind-the-times guardians of veterinary health on our borders not impose their veto again, thereby hindering the supply of such necessary foodstuffs to us?

There is another problem—the distribution of what is delivered to us. It is a good thing, as we have learned, that EC representatives are going to come to Moscow and St. Petersburg to supervise on the spot the movement of the frozen goods directly to the consumer. It is expected that by March, this flow of goods will become a truly mighty one.

In this connection, people in the British capital recall similar operations mounted by the West in the past. As THE TIMES of London writes, "this aid undoubtedly revives memories of the Berlin airlift, but on a much more modest scale. Between June 1948 and September 1949, 2,325,609 tonnes of freight were airlifted to Berlin, of which 1,586,530 tonnes were coal and 538,016 tonnes were food. The present EC aid amounts to 15,000 tonnes."

Literally just a few minutes before I was to dictate this report to Moscow, I was given some incredible information. The selfsame An-124, which had flown from London carrying the frozen beef to Moscow, had landed at Moscow airport but had not been given permission to unload. The veterinary health authorities had demanded new evidence of the meat's quality. Show us a document, they said, confirming that every kilo of beef in this consignment is not from a farm that has suffered cases of mad cow disease. As a result, the planeload of British beef was diverted to Murmansk. Maybe the cattle there are less susceptible to the disease than the cattle in the Moscow region.

"Until the bureaucratic obstacles are removed here and until the fate of the first An-124 is known, the second plane, which is to carry a consignment of meat to us, will remain grounded at Stansted airport awaiting the order to take off. When will that be?

Gaydar Explains Delay

LD0601173192 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] In response to reports in some Western media that Russia has refused to accept meat from Great Britain sent as part of humanitarian aid, a TASS correspondent asked Yegor Gaydar, vice prime minister in Russia's government, to cast some light on the situation.

Gaydar said that the Russian Government warmly supports humanitarian aid from the West and accepts it with gratitude. The problems which have arisen concerning the dispatch of beef from Great Britain are due to the fact that the Russian Federation's veterinary services are scrupulously carrying out their professional duties. Although the beef fully satisfies standards in the EC countries, at the same time, unlike Europe, Russia still remains a zone free of encephalopathy, and our veterinary services are expressing particular concern about the possibility of the virus getting to our territory. That, it turns out, is the reason why we will not receive meat from Great Britain.

Government To Return Archives to Germany

LD0601212592 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Alexander Semenov]

[Text] Bonn January 6 TASS—The Russian Government's Committee for Archives and the Koblenz-based German Federal Archives have reached agreement on future cooperation in efforts towards the return of valuable archival materials that were taken away during the Second World War.

The accord was reached during the visit of committee chief Professor Rudolf Pikhoi to Germany.

During the talks the Russian side disclosed, for example, that it had available approximately one million archival units to which even scientists had had no access. They will be returned to the Federal Archives in Koblenz after the microfilming process is completed.

The problems of organising archival business in Russia following the desintegration of the Soviet Union and of settling legislatively the question of the archives of the former Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and other mass organisations that have been dissolved in Russia and Germany were also discussed during the talks, the press service of the Federal Archives announced today.

The discussions also dealt with the intensification of research on the strength of Russian materials kept in German archives.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Signs Decree on Hard Currency Reserve

LD0601221592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian president has signed a decree on the establishment of the republican hard currency reserve for 1992. Its aim is to ensure that there is hard currency to redeem foreign debts, stabilize the ruble, and purchase basic necessities. Attention is drawn to a list of goods with regard to which there is a binding requirement that part of any hard currency revenue accruing from their export be transferred to the republican reserve so as to produce goods for us all. These are: livestock breeding output, timber, paper pulp, and hides, i.e. mainly raw materials that, judging by our shops, are in short supply, irrespective of Russia's tremendous natural wealth. It is hoped that once market relations really have come into their own in Russia, resources will be distributed naturally between the domestic and external markets without detriment to either. One more thing: This list also includes weapons, ammunition, spare parts, and accessories. It would be a sad thing if these exports were to strengthen the military forces of antidemocratic regimes, as repeatedly has been the case before.

Yeltsin To Make Two-Stage Tour of Republic

LD0401183292 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 4 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin will make two trips to various regions of the Russian Federation in the first half of January.

From January 8 to 10 he will visit Saratov, Ulyanovsk and Nizhny Novgorod, from January 14 to 15—Bryansk and St. Petersburg.

The main purpose of the tour is to get acquainted personally with the present social and economic situation in various regions in the early stages of price liberalisation and the privatisation programme. They will be the first trips the Russian leader will make after cessation of functions of the center and Union power structures in late 1991. Members of the Russian Government will also visit various regions of the republic in January.

To Review Farming, Chernobyl Issues

OW0401191992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The office of the Russian President says that Boris Yeltsin is beginning a tour of the country. On January 8

and 9 Yeltsin will visit Saratov and Ulyanovsk on the Volga. He will look into farming problems, the conversion of defence industries and the social and political situation. It is not ruled out that the problem of a German autonony will be brought up.

In the evening of January 9 President Yeltsin will arrive in Gorkiy. That will end the first round of his tour.

Later, on January 14 and 15 President Yeltsin will visit Bryansk and St. Petersburg. In Bryansk he will focus on efforts to eliminate the effects of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident.

Yeltsin Federation Tour 'Postponed'

PM0501144392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 6

["Own Information" report: "In the Upper Spheres of the Commonwealth of Independent States"]

[Text] All is quiet in the White House: The Russian parliamentarians have dispersed for the Christmas recess until 13 January, and an anticrisis staff which has just been set up and intends to work around the clock will be operating.

Sessions of supreme soviets will open in Belarus (where they expect that the question of distributing land to the peasants will finally be resolved), in Tajikistan (where free prices are on the agenda), Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan.

Boris Yeltsin had wanted to devote next week to meetings with the people, but his trip around the country has been postponed. First, Boris Nikolayevich is feeling somewhat unwell. And second, Ruslan Khasbulatov also intended to tour Russia next week. However, under the Constitution, one of them is simply obliged to "remain in charge."

Meanwhile Nursultan Nazarbayev will be having a meeting with striking miners, while Stanislav Shushkevich, according to the latest information, intends to go to Mogilev Oblast, but not on Chernobyl business. This time he has a different task: To meet with farmers and rayon leaders and talk, by all accounts, about land. This will be on New Year's Eve (according to the old calendar), which is known locally as "The Bountiful."

Price Drops, Instances of Violence Noted

LD0601214892 Moscow TASS in English 2134 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By unidentified TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—A sharp decline in buying activity and the first instances of dropping prices are now the most noteworthy phenomena on the food market of Russia.

Notwithstanding a substantial expansion of the range of foodstuffs, the population on the whole view the newly-set prices as inaccessible and prefer to refrain from purchases, TASS correspondents report from various cities of the republic.

A trend towards a partial decline in food prices has begun to emerge. In Kirov, Russia's north-east, the trade authorities removed the 25 per cent surcharge on a number of foodstuffs in order to somehow bring the mass of commodities into motion. As a result, the price of chickens went down from 90 roubles to 67.20 roubles a kilogramme.

In Murmansk, a large port in Russia's north-west, one kilogramme of fried cod now costs 27 roubles as against 128 roubles on Sunday [5 January]. Fried herring became cheaper by a factor of four. The price of fish sausage has been halved. However, the prices of these foodstuffs are still almost ten times as high as those on new-year's eve.

In Arkhangelsk, a port on the White Sea coast, the stocks of American cigarettes were sold out within three days because cigarette prices dropped by five per cent as the "presidential tax" was cancelled.

Reports that the prices of eggs, dairy products and vegetables go down come in from Yaroslavl, Syktyvkar and some other cities. [sentence as received] But it is not everywhere that the process evolves "peacefully".

In Stavropol, northern Caucasus, the prices of meat and sausage were lowered for the time being as people began to smash shop windows in protest at soaring food prices.

In Vladimir, central Russia, protests at high prices of milk compelled the authorities to intervene and secure that milk is sold at 1.20 roubles a liter, not at six roubles.

In Nizhny Novgorod, the Volga region, young mothers were struck by the price of milk—8.50 roubles—at a milk kitchen on January 3. They then lodged a complaint with the regional executive committee. The authorities intervened and milk was then sold at 1.62 roubles a liter.

Deputy Premier Gaydar Interviewed on Reform

LD0601105892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1930 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Interview with Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, deputy premier of Russia, by commentator Nikolay Svanidze; place and date not given—live or recorded; from the "Facing Russia" program]

[Text] [Svanidze] Good day. Today we are continuing our meetings with leaders of the Russian Government, and we are in conversation with Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, vice premier of Russia. Yegor Timurovich, what is your assessment of the start of the reforms, the start of the liberalization of prices?

[Gaydar] As yet everything is fitting within the framework of our forecasts. Naturally, nobody expected that in the very first days following the liberalization of prices the shelves in the stores would become full. That would be a contradiction of economic logic, common sense, and world experience. We have said repeatedly—and on the eve of the liberalization I had occasion several times to offer reminders—that what is needed is a period of at least several weeks for the economic agents—enterprises and shops—to adapt to a situation which has changed fundamentally, to adapt to the new rules of behavior; quite simply, so that the new market channels of communication might swing into operation and the new structures for marketing of goods might take shape. Such things do not happen overnight.

If the state of affairs on 2 January had been simply that the warehouses and storerooms were awash with goods then it would be possible to resolve many social problems without such socially painful and onerous measures as a one-time unfreezing of the overwhelming majority of prices. We could simply send in an inspector from the OBKhSS [former Department for Countering Embezzlement of Socialist Property] armed with a gun and insist that those storerooms be opened.

Unfortunately it was not as simple as that. This time, when prices are still rising very rapidly and yet there are still no goods available, is always politically the most difficult and painful phase in unfreezing prices. However much all of us may have said and written and explained that there would be no miracle on the first day—nor in the first week—nevertheless there is, there has been a latent expectation of a miracle. But this is a reality which has to be lived with. That reality is now being corrected as people take account of the real economic situation now taking shape.

Hence, of course, the completely crazy level of prices on, say, several types of dairy produce, such as sour cream. Products fail to sell for such prices, sales drop, there is no return, and thus... [changes thought] And this is a process of self-education which demonstrates to enterprises and trade that, in fact, for many goods now—and as time goes by the range will increase—they have to take account of a second vital fact, namely that no matter how few goods, effective demand plays a role.

The bulk of people are not buying meat at 150 rubles [R] and any normal person is not buying and will not buy it. The bulk of normal people are not buying sour cream, at least not in the previous quantities, at R50-60. Then, inevitably but slowly because of the traditions of economic behavior, the monopoly of trade which we have—of course, not yet broken but just beginning to break—and because of the monopoly of the supply structure, an adaptation to the changed situation is absolutely inevitable, if we stick to our chosen path, as is a change in price policy.

[Svanidze] (?Are you certain then,) that effective demand will continue to drop?

[Gaydar] Effective demand will not continue to drop. It will rise, naturally, because the money incomes of the population will increase during January and February. The real level of incomes will decrease, yes, without any doubt. It will drop in accordance with how the dynamics of the real manufacture and supply of consumer goods to the market develop. Real incomes depend on only one thing: on the supply of consumer goods to the market. Yes, they are limited, limited because production has fallen, as a result of disorganization, because of the extremely restricted nature of the imports of certain goods. These are the realities which one way or another have to be pushed aside.

[Svanidze] When do you think goods and foodstuffs will appear (?in the shops?)

[Gaydar] If we are firm in our policy and if we do not allow ourselves to be knocked off course by the wave of demands from the wings to restrain, ban, lower, and force and if we manage to overcome the trade barriers between regions, then I think that two to three weeks is an altogether realistic period for noticeable and tangible changes in the situation to become evident.

[Svanidze] Have you reckoned on the option where this does not happen? What will the government do in this case?

[Gaydar] In this case the government will undertake additional efforts aimed at removing goods restrictions in the path of interregional trade. In this case the government will continue to firmly steer its course toward the liberalization of prices, toward restricting the dynamic forces of effective demand. We are absolutely convinced that one way or another, in four or six weeks, positive changes will appear. The only thing which may seriously stop the process of liberalizing prices today is a political retreat.

Without doubt, the goods will appear—at least, in those instances where they actually exist in substance. That is, what is physically not present in the country will not appear. If there is something, and there are a lot of things—there are televisions and refrigerators, and vehicles, and sewing machines, [word indistinct] of consumer goods and so on. This is all there. And all of this will appear in the retail sector if we (?don't leave this path).

Another thing is important: that the prices for these goods—which inevitably have risen sharply over the first two months should then one way or another stabilize, so that we don't enter the ever-increasing wages-prices-wages spiral which creates financial instability. That is an alternative we would like to avoid. But if we do find ourselves in it, and this is not been ruled out, then additional financial and price measures will have to be carried out enabling a stabilization of the situation.

First and foremost, I mean a sharp rise in the future in the price of oil and the possible introduction of a special

tax on the use of oil and petroleum products. International financial organizations, the International Monetary Fund insistently recommend this. Evidently this is a sensible and correct policy. We did not wish to take this path immediately, so as to allow the national economy to adapt at least slightly to the present price level for fuel, but evidently this path will have to be taken if the present financial alterations turn out to be insufficient.

[Svanidze] Yegor Timurovich, people in the West often observe the progress of our reforms with a sympathetic but inactive interest, and retorts about the madly brave are heard concerning the policy of the government. If the West does not provide real aid, is such an option being considered?

[Gaydar] Yes, without any doubt. One must imagine firmly that we are conducting our reforms not in order to oblige the West but because we are profoundly convinced that there is no other way to improve our economy. And, generally speaking, practically any commonsense individual will agree with this if he calmly discards the politicking.

Therefore, it is all the same, whether there will be Western aid, or no.. We would be compelled to act in approximately the same way as we are acting now. I would not agree that the West is not acting and is not giving us any aid at all, because there are, still, considerably large-scale food credits which allow us, in the conditions of the current inflationary crisis, at least to cope to a certain extent, with the situation in the food market. And this gives us hope that we will succeed in overcoming it by the spring—and a serious hope, too. The West also gives us humanitarian aid, as well as considerably serious financial aid, in that it postpones the terms of repayment of debt accumulated by the Soviet Union. Because, without this, we simply would not be able to make ends meet. Therefore, I do not agree that the West is not acting, in principle.

It is another matter that the hopes of the experts and politicians who hoped that the moment we start on the path of radical reform, Western entrepreneurs, leaders, business people, and banks will rush to us from all sides, with tens of billions of dollars which we need to make these reforms proceed painlessly in a country, stuffed with nuclear weapons—their hopes, of course, proved overoptimistic. Well, we have never really hoped in this and relied on this.

[Svanidze] Who is in control of prices here at the moment, Yegor Timurovich?

[Gaydar] In control of prices, well...in most cases, nobody is in control of prices, because it is for the market to control prices now.

[Svanidze] But there is no market as such—not yet.

[Gaydar] The market is in the process of formation. It is shaping up. It will inevitably be formed over the weeks, the months. But no special instrument or body which would control market prices, needs to be invented. There is a committee for prices, under the Ministry of Economy and Finances. It is implementing work which is connected with price control. There is the State Commitee for Statistics, which registers prices and informs the government and the Supreme Soviet on their dynamics. There are local power bodies which regulate prices on many types of products.

By the way, as we actually expected, we have come across very serious issues as far as the prices for whole milk products and sugar are concerned. And now we have made a decision that their regulation should be transferred to local bodies of power. There is a lot of regional specifics there, and if we try to keep a firm hand on them from Moscow, as a result, Moscow itself will get no milk at all, because...

[Svanidze, interrupting] If we specify this, say, yesterday a specific foodstuff cost 30 [rubles] in the store, today, it costs 70 [rubles]. Whose price is this 70?

[Gaydar] This 70 is the price of the producer and the price of the retail system. The retail outlets cannot increase the price more than by the sum of the retail price addition. Producers can nominate any price at which this particular item can be bought from them. If they nominate a price which is beyond the limit, as they often try to do, the item will not be bought, the producers will suffer significant losses, and will have to change their price policies.

[Svanidze] Well, this means that in this case the price was nominated at the level of the shop's management, or the administration of the branch of industry?

[Gaydar] If the shop has the status of a legal person—and we have been making efforts, since the moment this government was formed, to make as many shops as possible, receive the status of a legal person—then the decision is made by the director of the shop. If the shop belongs to a trade structure of a higher level, then this trade structure makes the decision. But it can also delegate all the powers to the shop. If an enterprise supplies a product, then it is the enterprise which makes this decision.

Luckily there are more pleasant examples, for example, coming up against the barrier of effective demand, many shops and enterprises are finding themselves inspired not only to increase but also the reduce extremely high prices, including those that were in Moscow on the eve of 31 December.

[Svanidze] Unfortunately, we have very little information on that kind of measure, and here I want to ask you a question on the mass media. You have criticized the mass media for whipping up a feeling of fear about the approaching reforms. I have the feeling that the newspapers, magazines, and television have, perhaps, played a positive role, (?that is, some) of the mass media have played a positive role in preparing the population for the reforms. And the relative quiet and calm which we are

now seeing in the country is largely connected, in my view, with the stance of the mass media. But what is to be done now? The reform has started. And if we knew, say, that [word indistinct], that the market had started working, that the process was under way—fine - positive measures. But we do not know this. What kind of constructive role may there be for the mass media today? How do you see it?

[Gaydar] First of all, I agree with you that the mass media have of course done a great deal without a doubt, just to ensure that common sense prevailed and that there was a firm feeling that it was inevitable. And second, as regards the constructive role, in the first instance I would ask that no unjustified illusions are roused. Thus when, on 2 January, the mass media started to ask with alarm: Where, at the end of the day...we have arrived at the market, but where, at the end of the day are the goods; it seems to me that this is a misunderstanding. Surely, in reality, no one expected that they would appear on 2 January? It is hard to believe this.

So, in the first instance I would...because it is important now not to rouse senseless illusions that, first, there are very simple decisions to existing problems, and second, that [word indistinct] improvements will come slowly. So now, if they do not come in a day or two, this is just because the mafia, intrigue, envious people, corruption and so on...[changes thought] What is needed is time, and the sense of historical time is needed in order to turn this enormous cumbersome bulk on to a fundamental course which the world economy has been following over the past decades.

[Svanidze] Yegor Timurovich, many experts are now describing your government as people who know what but do not know how to do it. [words indistinct] compliment here in that the previous government knew neither. What do you think about this?

[Gaydar] I think that we do know what, and in general, on the grander scale, we know how.

[Svanidze] The Commonwealth—the Commonwealth and reform. What role, in your opinion, did the Minsk meeting play in the promoting of economic reforms?

[Gaydar] Which meeting—the first, or the latest?

[Svanidze] The latest one.

[Gaydar] The latest meeting was first and foremost devoted to political issues, defense and political issues. As one might have expected, the achievement of any accords, including in the economic sphere, is difficult simply because it is very difficult to achieve accord when what is being shared is not a growing cake, but one that is shrinking because of the objective facts of the fall in output. There is a huge temptation to pass the buck, a huge temptation to try to somehow settle the problem at each other's cost. I am glad that so far this is not seriously hindering us from achieving compromises, from achieving agreements. They may not always be ideal, sometimes they are painful, but so far they permit us to ensure coordinated actions.

[Svanidze] How realistic is this coordination? In the past, you have said that it proved possible to persuade the Ukraine not to introduce its own currency. Now they are bringing in coupons. Perhaps the Ukraine has deceived us in that case?

[Gaydar] This is a line which the Ukraine adopted, and adopted long ago. It is another matter that we hoped that we would manage to persuade our Ukrainian colleagues not to take this road. I do not think that today we have to take the road of mutual recriminations. The Ukraine might say that we have not provided the cash in the due quantity, and that they had to introduce coupons because of that, or we could say that the Ukraine's requests for cash were absolutely beyond the limit, and out of line with any sensible economic calculations, and that we were not in any way discriminating against them concerning the cash, and this crossfire would not do anybody the slightest good.

Nevertheless, I have to admit frankly that if anything in the economy is going to be our downfall, then it is primarily substitutes for money that other republics are introducing as if it were not painful. But this is a lack of firmness of our own financial policy.

[Svanidze] Is Russia prepared to go down the road of reform on its own, and on its own to what extent, regardless of the situation within the Commonwealth?

[Gaydar] Russia has been compelled to go ahead along the road of reform, whatever happens. There is no other path for us. We are going down it not to do anyone a favor, but because we are urged to do so by the logic of objective, very powerful socioeconomic processes. We have no intention of turning from this path.

We hope that we will be able to coordinate economic policy, with a number of sovereign states at any rate.

[Svanidze] Is there any serious disagreement on this within the Russian Government?

[Gaydar] No.

[Svanidze] Yegor Timurovich, how is privatization going? The privatization plans are very long-term. Not all the conditions for it have been created yet.

[Gaydar] In the space of a week or a month you can only break up property relations. You cannot create anything that will last. Therefore, we believe that the best thing is to move as quickly as possible in this direction, but within the framework of our possibilities and realities, so that we do not create an ownership structure which no society would ever accept. After all, society's recognition that its existing system for the distribution of property is, to some extent at least, fair and socially acceptable is a most important factor making for social stability.

If we make a serious analysis of the most important factors leading to the social cataclysm in Russia in 1917, we see that the failure to settle the historic dispute over the fairness of land ownership and landowners' rights, to settle these real conflicts, was a most important cause of the revolution. As well as thinking how we can carry out privatization as quickly as possible, we also have to consider ways of making it socially acceptable.

[Svanidze] In other words, you regard the steps toward privatization which have already been taken as the most that is possible?

[Gaydar] I believe that this is the most that is possible. I think any attempt to speed it up still further would be a gamble, pure and simple.

[Svanidze] Yegor Timurovich, what factors could impede reform, other than the popular impatience which has been mentioned so often already?

[Gaydar] There are, of course, serious social, political, and ethnic conflicts within the Commonwealt!.. Attitudes toward the army have not been settled. Those are, I think, the two most important factors.

[Svanidze] What about purely economic factors?

[Gaydar] Purely economic ones? The hard currency situation is very grave. If we had even the slightest room for maneuver in the sphere of hard currency, the chances of limiting the social costs of reform would of course be much greater.

[Svanidze] Quite recently the first TV channel reported the results of a public opinion poll. They were very optimistic. They showed that about 80 percent of all the main groups of the public believe in reform. Do you trust this figure?

[Gaydar] Generally speaking, yes. I would not interpret this to mean, of course, that 80 percent of the public warmly support the government's measures. That would be unrealistic. The public cannot warmly support the unfreezing of prices and the price increases. No people, no population would.

[Svanidze] Nevertheless you trust the results?

[Gaydar] I think it is true to say that the people do still on the whole believe that this great country—this rich country—cannot remain forever in a state of crisis. They believe and see that in general the turn toward the path which the civilized world has been taking over decades is evidently the only possible one; and they believe and see that our government firmly intends to take that path, and draws optimism from this, I think there is truth in this.

[Svanidze] What is your present mood, a few days after the beginning of the reforms?

[Gaydar] Calm.

[Svanidze] Thank you, Yegor Timurovich, for your interview, and all the best.

[Gaydar] Goodbye.

Deputy Minister Nechayev on Price Controls

PM0601151092 Paris LIBERATION in French 3 Jan 92 pp 8-9

[Interview with Andrey Nechayev, Russian deputy minister of economics, by Francois Came, in Moscow; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Moscow—Andrey Nechayev, the Russian Government's deputy minister of economics, is the right-hand man of Yegor Gaydar, the architect of the Russian economic reform. This 30-year old man, who was relaxed, direct, and open, explained the philosophy behind the lifting of price control, and the government's forecasts for 1992.

[Came] Are you not putting the cart before the horse by lifting price control?

[Nechayev] We are often criticized on this point. "You should have privatized and broken the monopoly before freeing prices." In theory, that is a well-founded argument. But we are faced with a real situation: The government has lost control of wholesale prices while still controlling retail prices. The result is terrible inflation affecting the black market. By lifting price control, we are merely bringing this inflation into the open.

[Came] Will privatization follow?

[Nechayev] As soon as possible. And it will benefit from this lifting of price control. It is long-term action, which cannot be carried out in three weeks. In this respect the Moscow city hall's privatization program is nothing more than a dream. What is certain is that once price control has been lifted, privatization will be more effective.

[Came] You have also announced a liberalization of commerce and foreign economic relations.

[Nechayev] We are starting with the convertibility of the ruble for everyday operations. It will soon be possible to buy dollars or francs for import contracts and foreign firms will be able to take their currency freely out of the USSR. For individuals, the rate will be free and floating.

[Came] What will happen to the ruble? That also determines the success of the lifting of price control.

[Nechayev] It would be very useful to stablize the exchange rate. It does not really matter whether it is 30, 60, or 120 rubles to the dollar provided that once the rate is fixed it introduces an element of stabilization. But, to do that, our estimates show that we would have to have a ruble stabilization fund of between $3 billion and $5

billion, in order to be able to defend the chosen exchange rate by market interventions. And we do not have that fund.

[Came] Boris Yeltsin requested that money from the big industrialized countries....

[Nechayev] Yeltsin has written to the Western powers to ask them to help him find that sum. We have still not received a reply. We will therefore use current exchange rates. And, in my view, the ruble will first fall from 100 rubles to the dollar now to 150 or even 200 rubles to the dollar in six months' time. It will then rise again if we succeed in controlling the monetary changes.

[Came] Is your promise to wipe out the budget deficit in the first three months really serious?

[Nechayev] That is an extremely difficult task. But it is vital. It is the only way of reducing the money supply and hence inflation. No deficit here can be financed by borrowing, nobody would now be prepared to lend to the state. Thus the only way of filling the gap is to print money. The budget deficit automatically means inflation.

We will therefore set up a new tax system focusing more on indirect revenue which should shortly represent 42 percent of state revenue. The creation of a sort of value added tax will therefore enable us to index link state revenue to price increases.

[Came] What about spending?

[Nechayev] That is the crucial factor. We absolutely must reduce spending. The lifting of price control will help a great deal, it will enable us to eliminate 95 percent of the subsidies which the state currently pays for coal, milk, and so forth, provided we are able to resist demands to provide compensation in terms of people's purchasing power.

This is the essential question, and it is political: How much social pressure will there be, will we be capable of standing firm?

Pavlov doubled prices in April and decided only to compensate for 60 percent of that increase. And in the end he compensated to the extent of 150 percent. That produced a wave of inflation.

[Came] Do you think that the stores will be filled as a result of the lifting of price control?

[Nechayev] Yes, in the first few days the situation should improve slightly. But I think that things will develop gradually. Goods will quickly disappear again. We will then witness a new price increase and a reappearance of products toward the beginning of February.

If we succeed in controlling the money supply, the situation should finally be stabilized in three or four months.

[Came] What will the inflation rate be then?

[Nechayev] Even if this happens, prices will continue to increase by 10 percent per month until the end of the year. But that is better than the current 35 percent.

The ruble could then be stabilized and gradually increase in value. We must not forget that, according to the theory of purchasing power parity, the exchange rate should vary between 3 and 7 rubles per dollar and not 100, as is now the case.

[Came] Are you not afraid that strict control of the money supply, if you succeed in imposing it, will spark off a major recession?

[Nechayev] There will be a very major recession over the first six months of the year, perhaps more. It will have at least one definite advantage: It will help stabilize prices. What is certain is that the loud declarations about the situation improving by fall are overoptimistic.

[Came] How many unemployed people do you think there will be in 1992?

[Nechayev] Reliable estimates give an optimistic hypothesis of 4 million unemployed in Russia by next summer.

[Came] What about the pessimistic hypotheses?

[Nechayev] Let us say that 5 million strikes me as realistic....

[Came] Do you not think that radical monetary reform and the disappearance of the ruble are vital?

[Nechayev] We are preparing for that. At least, let us say that we are starting to prepare for it. But rather as a response to monetary reform in the other republics. Especially in the Ukraine. The day when the latter creates its own currency, all the rubles currently in circulation in that republic will then flow back into Russia and that could have a dramatic effect and produce a sudden large increase in the money supply. I know that the Ukraine is having money printed in Canada. But, officially, they have promised to do nothing in the immediate future.

[Came] Do you think that the Ukrainians will hold back for long?

[Nechayev] (Silence—LIBERATION editor's note).... What I do know is that, technically, we will not be able to change our currency before next summer....

Hard Currency Stores To Accept Rubles

PM0701104592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 1

[D. Babich report: "'Berezka' Stores To Accept the Ruble"]

[Text] After several phone calls to Moscow "Berezka" stores, we ascertained that the liberalization of prices has so far not affected these hard currency stores.

INTERFAX recently carried a report that Petr Aven, chairman of Russian State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, has announced the introduction of a system of service for rubles at all goods and services enterprises trading for freely convertible currency on the republic's territory from 1 February.

Petr Aven's press aide Andrey Silantyev informed us that it is planned to switch Soviet "Berezka" stores and the various foreign joint ventures and firms to the new system of parallel payment as well. A hard currency exhange point will be set up in every hard currency store, where all ordinary citizens will be able to receive in return for their rubles the dollars necessary for purchase. So far it is not clear at what exchange rate the "ruble" prices on the hard currency goods will be fixed.

Incidentally, we have good news for investors of the former USSR Savings Bank: We were informed in the reception room of the former chairman of the Savings Bank that the temporary demise of this organization, which has surrendered its powers to the republic Savings Banks, will in no way affect the accounts of investors.

Incidentally: At the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange the exchange rate of the dollar fell yesterday from 169.1 to 150 rubles for the dollar.

Secret KGB Surveillance Documents Found

LD0601230192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2220 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (TASS)—Secret documents testifying to the KGB's surveillance of political opponents of Gorbachev, bearing resolutions of the former USSR president, have been found by the Russian procuracy, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper reports today. This involves operational observation reports on the lives and activities of the Russian leadership, including some people's deputies.

In the newspaper's view, this "to a certain extent explains the dubious behavior of Boris Yeltsin, who literally drove Mikhail Gorbachev out of his office in the Kremlin a few days before the date stipulated between them".

The surveillance documents, removed from the safe of Boldin, former head of the USSR president's office, who was implicated in the August 1991 putsch, have hitherto been kept by one of the investigators of the USSR procuracy, which has just been wound up. Recently transferring cases to the Russian general procurator, he was forced to present these long-hidden papers too. Preserved on the documents are handwritten comments made by Gorbachev himself.

"The Russian procuracy believes that there are grounds for investigating the facts," the paper writes. "An article of the RSFSR Criminal Code stipulates punishment for the abuse of office up to and including imprisonment". RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA claims, however, that "not once did Gorbachev make use of material obtained by illegal means". At the same time, it suggests that information which came from Boldin and Kryuchkov, former KGB chairman, "created additional motives for confrontation with the Russian leadership and the general disintegration of power in the country".

"Experts believe that all this was done in order to draw Mikhail Gorbachev into an irreversible process of confrontation with Boris Yeltsin, and then to force him to head an anti-democratic coup or at least to support a junta in one way or another", the paper writes. "When this did not work out, the USSR president found himself under arrest in the Crimea".

Alksnis' Phone Tapped by Order of Gorbachev

PM0601124592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Dec 92 First Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by unnamed "our correspondent": "Deputy's Request by Viktor Alksnis"]

[Text] USSR people's deputy Colonel Viktor Alksnis told the editorial office that on 25 December he sent a deputy's request to Russian Federation General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov. The colonel was asking for confirmation or a denial that his telephone in the "Moskva" hotel was being tapped.

According to information which the deputy obtained from the Russian prosecutor's office, telephone tapping was sanctioned as long ago as last year by Mikhail Gorbachev, who gave the requisite order to Vladimir Kryuchkov, then chairman of the KGB. The USSR people's deputy believes that this occurred after he had given the president an ultimatum at the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 16 November 1990 on establishing order in the country within 30 days.

According to Alksnis, Gorbachev regularly received excerpts from the eavesdropping transcript and he even made notes on them. All the eavesdropping materials were kept in the safe of former head of the USSR president's apparatus Valeriy Boldin, who was arrested in connection with the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] affair. They were taken from there by the Russian prosecutor's office.

Rutskoy on Defense Industry, Conversion

924A0374A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 52, Dec 91 p 9

[Article by RSFSR Vice President A. Rutskoy: "Problems of Conversion of Enterprises and Organizations of the Russian Defense Complex Will Be Resolved"]

[Text] The experience of implementing the defense industry conversion shows that it is a complex, multilevel process that affects the interests of a large number of enterprises and organizations engaged in development

and production of defense-related output, and of the hundreds of thousands specialists who work there.

In 1991, more than 460 enterprises of the Russian defense complex and about 200 scientific research and experimental design organizations were involved in the conversion process.

At the same time, the extent of the 1991 cuts in the production and development of arms and military hardware—as compared with the pre-conversion 1988—was much greater than had been envisaged in earlier decisions. The production of arms was reduced by 29 percent instead of the planned 19.5 percent, and the reductions in arms development reached 22 percent instead of 14 percent. Especially considerable cuts took place in the production of combat aircraft (1.9 times), strategic missiles (2.4 times), tanks (3.2 times), infantry combat vehicles (4.9 times), and ammunition (1.8 times). An entire class of medium and shorter range missiles were taken out of production.

Reductions in Production and Development of Arms and Military Hardware From 1988 to 1991

Arms Production—29 percent

Arms Development—22 percent

Production of Combat Aircraft—1.9 times

Production of Strategic Missiles—2.4 times

Production of Tanks—3.2 times

In accordance with the adopted direction of the conversion process, as the defense complex capacities and scientific and technological potential are freed from military orders, they are used mostly to expand production of high-technology products in the most important branches of the republic economy, including modern civil aviation technology and civil marine vessels for various purposes; space technologies to provide communications, navigation, environmental monitoring, and civilian communications devices; and the production of promising materials and high-purity alloys.

Other priority directions of the conversion are determined by the need to strengthen the social orientation of the economy, including an increase in the production of high-quality consumer goods, modern medical technology, technologies and equipment for the processing branches of the agroindustrial complex, light industry, retail trade and public catering, and environmental equipment and instrumentation.

In the difficult conditions of crisis phenomena in 1990, it was still possible to maintain the trend toward increasing production for civilian use in the defense complex. The 1990 results show that the increase in the volume of non-food consumer goods in comparison with 1989 (in comparable prices) grew by almost 28 percent. More than 60 new items were put into serial production (10 brands of new generation television sets, seven new brands of tape recorders, refrigerators, multipurpose food processors, and so on.)

Compared with 1989 the production of color television sets was increased by 13 percent; tape recorders by 12 percent; video cassette recorders 3.6 times; washing machines by 22 percent; bicycles by 11 percent; and household sewing machines by 12.6 percent.

In 1990, the production of technological machinery for light industry grew—as calculated in rubles in comparison with 1989—by 14 percent; for processing industries of the agroindustrial complex by 31.5 percent; and medical equipment by 29.4 percent.

Acceleration of the disintegration processes in the economy in 1991 sharply worsened the volume indicators for production of consumer goods by defense industry enterprises. While the plan is overfulfilled in terms of value, the population will receive 240,000 fewer television sets, 110,000 fewer refrigerators, and 310,000 fewer radios than in 1990.

The sharp reduction in military production has put many defense industry enterprises in a difficult financial situation. Enterprises also have to incur additional expenses related to procurement of material resources and component parts at contract prices, while prices for finished military products in 1991 are set at a fixed level.

The financial situation of enterprises is negatively affected by an increase in uncompleted production and excess material and technical values that are the result of deciding to cut military production without advance notification to the enterprises.

So far, another problem that has not been resolved is how to transfer to the national economy the scientific and technical achievements of defense enterprises, many of which exceed world levels.

In preparation for 1992, Russian executive power organs need to take into account the negative experience of the former Union structures and to carefully analyze the economic condition of enterprises engaged in military production in the environment of a sharp reduction of deliveries of such equipment. The economics of a defense enterprise is the same for both military and civilian production. Therefore, the economic indicators of an enterprise's defense-related division directly affect its ability to develop civilian production and to provide incentives for employees of the enterprise as a whole. Moreover, the revenue part of the local budget of the city and the region where the enterprise is located depends on the effectiveness of defense enterprises' operations.

Still unresolved are a number of important conversion-related legal and organizational issues. This applies first and foremost to the Law on Conversion which is being developed in the republic Supreme Soviet.

The Law on Defense Industry Conversion should regulate the rights and obligations of enterprises undergoing conversion, provide for social protection of employees, determine the responsibility of, and the relationship

between, state administration organs on the republic and local level in the conversion process of military sector enterprises.

In the environment of economic reform and a transition to market relations, enterprises undergoing conversion should be immediately given the right to independently decide on matters of using capacities freed from military production, including creating on their basis small, leasehold, and joint-stock enterprises, as well as joint ventures with foreign partners.

The state may regulate their activities only by economic methods.

The experience of conversion shows that process needs to be realized in a planned manner, without undue haste; enterprises should be provided with initial information on defense cuts in advance.

In connection with deliberations at the state level on the issues of further reductions of military expenditures and reduced production of arms and military hardware, it is necessary to carefully consider possible options in defense industry conversion in order to make the most effective use of the freed production and scientific-technical potential to meet the needs of the national economy and of the republic's population.

To that end, it is necessary to consider, on an inter-state level, the military doctrine of defense sufficiency and to adopt a decision on necessary military expenditures. Guided by this decision, levels of procurement and development of arms and military hardware by class and type needs to be determined. These needs of the Armed Forces and other users of arms and military hardware should be made known in advance to enterprises and organizations involved in military production.

After that, with the participation of regional organs, enterprises, and organizations, a state conversion program for the defense industry of Russia and regional conversion programs should be developed.

In doing that, it is necessary to carefully analyze and expand the priority directions of using freed capacities and scientific- technical potential freed from military orders, including using this potential in priority programs for Russia's revival.

The conversion program should include a wide range of directions related to solving the problems of agricultural processing, the housing industry, medical equipment and pharmaceuticals, the baby food industry, consumer goods, transportation and means of conveyance, and information and communications systems.

In order to implement the state conversion program, the necessary resources should be found both in the state budget—from savings resulting from cuts in military expenditures—and through the creation of a special conversion fund.

In implementing the conversion, it is necessary to preserve the existing scientific-technical potential of the defense complex research institutes and design bureaus, and scientific organizations specializing in fundamental and exploratory scientific research.

Utilization and reprocessing of decommissioned armaments and military equipment acquires special significance in the process of conversion by utilizing to a greater degree the production capacities and labor resources of the defense sector of the economy during the transition period.

The conversion program for the production potential of the Russian defense complex may be coordinated with similar programs of other sovereign states—members of the former Soviet Union.

The process of conversion in Russia is also oriented toward the participation of foreign companies and investors in this process based on the mutual interests of the parties to the agreement.

For this purpose, a committee of conversion has been created under the RSFSR president; its task will be the realization of the president's decisions on the issue of defense cuts and conversion of the defense industry.

The committee will coordinate the work of state administration organs, ministries, agencies, territorial organs, and enterprises and organizations on issues related to an effective conversion of the production capacities and scientific-technical potential of the defense complex to civilian production and the manufacture of consumer goods needed by the national economy and the Russian population.

The committee will be guided in its work by the national interest and by the social needs of the republic's population and will rely on economic methods of production regulation that ensure the coordination of the interests of the state, regions, and enterprises and organizations.

Declaration of Civil Rights, Freedoms Issued

PM0601152792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 91 First Edition pp 1, 6

["Declaration of Human and Civil Rights and Freedoms"]

[Text] Asserting human rights and freedoms and the honor and dignity of human beings as the supreme value of society and the state,

noting the need to bring RSFSR legislation in line with the standards of human rights and freedoms generally recognized by the international community,

the RSFSR Supreme Soviet adopts the present declaration.

Article 1.

(1) A human being has rights and freedoms from birth.

(2) The generally recognized international norms relating to human rights take precedence over RSFSR laws and directly engender the rights and duties of RSFSR citizens.

Article 2.

(1) The list of rights and freedoms incorporated in the present Declaration is not exhaustive and does not diminish other human and civil rights and freedoms.

(2) Human and civil rights can be restricted by the law only insofar as is necessary in order to protect the constitutional system, morality, health, and legal rights and interests of other people in a democratic society.

Article 3.

(1) Everyone is equal in the eyes of the law and the courts.

(2) Equal rights and freedoms are guaranteed by the state irrespective of race, nationality, language, social origin, property and official status, place of residence, attitude toward religion, beliefs, membership of public associations, and other circumstances.

(3) Men and women have equal rights and freedoms.

(4) People guilty of violating citizens' equality will face legal action.

Article 4.

(1) A human being's exercise of his or her rights and freedoms should not violate other people's rights and freedoms.

(2) The use of rights and freedoms to forcibly change the constitutional system, to inflame racial, ethnic, class, or religious hatred, or to propagandize violence and war is prohibited.

Article 5.

(1) Everyone has the right to acquire or relinquish citizenship of the Russian Federation in accordance with RSFSR law.

(2) An RSFSR citizen cannot be deprived of citizenship of the Russian Federation or be expelled from it.

(3) An RSFSR citizen cannot be extradited, save on the basis of the law or of an RSFSR or USSR international treaty.

(4) The Russian Federation guarantees all citizens protection and patronage outside the Russian Federation.

Article 6.

People who are not citizens of the RSFSR but who are living legally on its territory enjoy the rights and freedoms and also have the duties of RSFSR citizens, with the exceptions laid down by the Constitution and laws and international treaties of the RSFSR or USSR. An individual cannot be deprived of honorary citizenship or political asylum on the territory of the RSFSR without the consent of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 7.

Everyone has the right to live. No one can be arbitrarily deprived of his or her life. The state will seek the total abolition of the death penalty. Until it is abolished the death penalty can be used as an exceptional form of punishment for particularly grave crimes only as a result of a verdict by a court, with the participation of jurors.

Article 8.

(1) Everyone is entitled to freedom and personal inviolability.

(2) It is possible to appeal to the court against an arrest.

(3) Custody and imprisonment are possibly only on tha basis of a judicial decision in the manner laid down by the law.

(4) No one can be subjected to torture, violence, or any other brutal or degrading treatment or punishment. No one can be subjected to medical, scientific, or other experiments without their voluntary consent.

Article 9.

(1) Everyone is entitled to a private life that is not interfered with and to confidential correspondence, telephone conversations, and telegraph and other communications. This right can only be restricted in accordance with the law on the basis of a judicial decision.

(2) Everyone is entitled to respect for and protection of their honor and dignity.

(3) The collection, storage, use, and dissemination of information on a person's private life without their consent are not permitted, except in cases indicated in the law.

Article 10.

(1) Everyone is entitled to accommodation. No one can be arbitrarily deprived of accommodation.

(2) The state encourages housing construction and will promote the realization of the right to accommodation.

(3) Needy citizens receive free accommodation or accommodation on preferential terms from the state or municipal housing stock.

Article 11.

(1) Accommodation is inviolable. No one has the right to enter accommodation against the will of the people living there.

(2) Searches or other actions that involve entering premises can only be carried out on the basis of a judicial

decision. In urgent cases a different procedure is possible, one that is laid down by the law and that envisages a subsequent check by the court on the legality of these actions.

Article 12.

(1) Everyone is entitled to freedom of movement and choice of sojurn and residence in the Russian Federation.

(2) An RSFSR citizen is entitled to travel freely outside its borders and to return unhindered.

(3) These rights can only be restricted on the basis of the law.

Article 13.

(1) Everyone is entitled to freedom of thought and expression and to freely express their own views and beliefs. No one can be forced to express their own opinions and beliefs.

(2) Everyone is entitled to seek, obtain, and freely distribute information. This right can only be restricted by the law in order to protect personal, family, professional, commercial, and state secrets, and also morality. The list of information that constitutes state secrets is established by the law.

Article 14.

Everyone is guaranteed freedom of conscience, religion and religious or atheist activity. Everyone is entitled to freely profess any religion or not to profess any; to choose, have, and spread religious or atheist beliefs and act in accordance with them as long as they abide by the law.

Article 15.

Any RSFSR citizen whose beliefs preclude military service is entitled to replace it with alternative civilian duties in accordance with the law.

Article 16.

(1) Everyone is entitled to freely decide their own national affiliation. No one should be forced to decide or indicate their national affiliation.

(2) Everyone is entitled to use their native language, including study and education in their native language.

(3) It is a criminal offense to affront national dignity.

Article 17.

RSFSR citizens are entitled to participate in running the affairs of society and the state both directly and through their own representatives, freely elected by secret ballot on the basis of equal, universal suffrage.

Article 18.

RSFSR citizens have an equal right of access to any post in state bodies in accordance with their professional training and without any discrimination. The demands made on a candidate for the post of state employee are entirely dependent on the nature of the official duties.

Article 19.

RSFSR citizens are entitled to assemble peacefully and without weapons, to hold rallies, street marches, and demonstrations, and to picket on condition that they first notify the authorities.

Article 20.

RSFSR citizens have the right of association. This right can only be restricted by a judicial decision on the basis of the law.

Article 21.

RSFSR citizens are entitled to send personal and collective appeals to state organs or officials, who, inasmuch as their powers allow, are obliged to consider these appeals, make decisions on them, and provide a reasoned response within a period laid down by the law.

Article 22.

(1) Everyone has ownership rights—that is, they are entitled to possess, use, and dispose of their own property and other items of property both individually and in conjunction with other individuals. The right of inheritance is guaranteed by law.

(2) Everyone is entitled to engage in entrepreneurial activity that is not prohibited by the law.

Article 23.

(1) Everyone has the right to work, which they freely choose or freely accept, and also the right to exploit their own work potential and choose their own profession and category of studies.

(2) Everyone is entitled to working conditions that meet the demands of safety and hygiene, and to equal reward for equal work without any discrimination and at a rate not less than the minimum amount laid down by the law.

(3) Everyone is entitled to protection against unemployment.

(4) Forced labor is prohibited.

Article 24.

(1) Every working person is entitled to leisure.

(2) Hired workers are guaranteed a legally set amount of working time, weekly days off, holidays, annual paid leave, and a reduced working day for a number of professions and activities.

Article 25.

(1) Everyone is entitled to skilled medical aid in the state health system. The state takes measures to develop all forms of medical services, including free and paid medical services and also medical insurance; and encourages activity that contributes to a sound ecological situation, better health for all, and the development of physical education and sport.

(2) It is a criminal offense for state officials to conceal facts and circumstances that pose a threat to people's lives and health.

Article 26.

(1) Everyone is entitled to social security in old age, in the event of disability, loss of breadwinner, and in other cases laid down by the law.

(2) Pensions, benefits, and other types of social assistance must provide a living standard that is no lower than the subsistence level established by the law.

(3) The state is developing a system of social insurance and security.

(4) The creation of public social security funds and charitable activities are encourged.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone is entitled to education.

(2) Generally accessible and free education is guaranteed within the bounds of the state education standard. Basic education is compulsory.

Article 28.

The state provides for maternity and child care and for the rights of children, invalids, mentally retarded people, and citizens who have served sentences in prison and need social support.

Article 29.

(1) Freedom of artistic, scientific, and technical creativity and of research and teaching are protected by the law, as is intellectual property.

(2) It is recognized that everyone has the right to participate in cultural life and make use of cultural institutions.

Article 30.

Everyone is entitled to defend their own rights, freedom, and legitimate interests by any means that do not contradict the law.

Article 31.

State bodies, institutions, and officials are obliged to provide everyone with the opportunity to acquaint themselves with documents and materials directly affecting their rights and freedoms unless the law states otherwise.

Article 32.

Everyone is guaranteed judicial protection of their rights and freedoms. Decisions and actions by officials, state bodies, and public organizations that have resulted in a breach of the law or in their exceeding their authority, or that infringe civil rights, can be appealed against in the courts.

Article 33.

The rights of the victims of crimes and abuses of power are protected by the law. The state guarantees them access to justice and swift compensation for any damage caused.

Article 34.

(1) Anyone accused of a crime is deemed innocent until their guilt is proved in the manner laid down by the law and a conmpetent, independent, and impartial court has given its verdict and that verdict has legally taken effect. The accused is not obliged to prove his or her innocence. Ineradicable doubts about a person's guilt count in favor of the accused.

(2) Anyone convicted of a crime has the right to a review of the sentence by a higher court in accordance with the procedure laid down by the law, and also the right to ask for a pardon or a mitigation of the punishment.

(3) No one can twice be made to bear criminal or other responsibility for the same offense.

(4) Evidence obtained by breaking the law is deemed to have no legal validity.

Article 35.

(1) A law establishing or aggravating a person's liability is not retroactive. No one can be liable for actions that were not deemed an offense when they were performed. If after an offense has been committed responsibilty for it is removed or mitigated, the new law applies.

(2) A law envisaging the punishment of citizens or the restriction of their rights enters into effect only when it has been officially published.

Article 36.

No one is obliged to give evidence against themselves, their spouse, or close relatives, as defined by the law. Other instances wherein a person is released from the obligation to testify can be established by the law.

Article 37.

(1) Everyone has the guaranteed right to use skilled legal assistance. In cases provided for by the law this assistance is free.

(2) Any person arrested, held in custody, or accused of committing a crime has the right to avail themselves of the services of a lawyer (attorney) the moment they are arrested, taken into custody, or charged.

Article 38.

Everyone is entitled to state compensation for any damage resulting from illegal actions by state bodies and their officials in performance of their official duties.

Article 39.

Temporary restrictions on human rights and freedoms are permitted in the event of a state of emergency on the basis of and within the confines established by the RSFSR law.

Article 40.

(1) Parliamentary monitoring of the observance of human and civil rights and freedoms in the Russian Federation is vested in the authorized parliamentary representative for human rights.

(2) The authorized parliamentary representative for human rights is appointed by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for a period of five years; he is accountable to it and has the same immunity as an RSFSR people's deputy.

(3) The powers of the authorized parliamentary representative for human rights and the procedure for implementing them are laid down by the law.

Paper Reflects on 'Black Year' for Russia

PM0601132192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Dec 91 p 3

[Eduard Volodin article: "A Publisher's Reflections—Let's Stock Up on Courage"]

[Text] I am indebted to my editorial colleagues at SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for commissioning me to talk to readers about the past year, 1991. The journalist's profession is new to me—I had spent my entire adult life teaching and practicing science before becoming a press man. I read the letters sent to the editorial staff and as far as possible react to the issues raised in our newspaper's mail-bag. Above all, I want to say thank you to all those who share our newspaper's position and find something of interest in my articles. Thank you for your support in difficult times for the newspaper, and thank you for your faith in the ideas and ideals professed and defended by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

So what can I say about last year, when our hearts are heavy and our souls grieve for what has already happened and the prospect of what is yet to come? Should I recall the national distress, the desecration of our integrity—the country's, the people's, and that of each one of us? Should I recall the nightmare of South Ossetia? Or compound the bitterness of reflections on the devastation of the Army and the officer corps? Or curse in anger all those in the former "union" republics who mock Russia and Russians? It has been a black year for my Russia, which has not yet forgotten or betrayed the memory of our ancestors, working people, and national statesmen.

A sorrowful year. But is it appropriate for us Russians to wail and helplessly wave our arms? Yes, it was a black year throughout Russia and still we face adversity: Let us emulate the wisdom of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers and learn the lessons of our current disaster.

After several years of outrage over the absolute power of the soviets, overwhelmed by partocracy, 1991 revealed the ultimate truth: All such outrage in respect of the soviets was aimed at seizing power and calling a final and complete halt to the people's participation in managing the country and distributing the national wealth. Now, impotent soviets at every level are powerless to resist the administrative vigor of the executive structures which have emerged since the August events. Nor can they cope with the economic tyranny which, far from being chaotic, is clearly oriented toward transferring national, state, and cooperative peasant property into the hands of private owners. In fact, before our very eyes, a global politicoeconomic coup is taking place: It is being carried out in order to transfer power from the people's hands and into the hands of a comprador-style (that is, anti-people and anti-national) bourgeoisie. This is the first truth revealed by the events of 1991. Now the configuration of political forces—their economic and social base—is clear, and several years of contortion and idle pontification on the subject of the soviets' power has ended.

So whose political authority rose to the surface of social life after that? To all appearances, that of the victorious "democrats." After all, they, the "democrats," were the ones who steadily and irrepressibly eradicated all obstacles—state, legal, "partocratic," national—in order to accede to the institutions of power and instigate destructive processes in every sphere without exception. They were the ones who denigrated our past until that past was distorted beyond recognition. They were the ones who abused the state so that in 1991 we were deprived of a country and all idea of statehood. And they were the ones who, seated in the various parliaments, hurals, and "great assemblies," exploiting the cowardice and the ideological ambiguities of "communist" pseudofactions, gave their blessing to sovereignties, independence, and heaven knows what else—anything simply to pave the way to authoritarianism.

But the curious thing is this. They were well able to open this way and lay down its limits, but suddenly they started to declare their positions incompatible with the actions of the powers-that-be. Suddenly they began to talk about some kind of constructive opposition to the power which they themselves had co-founded, approved, and oriented. So, are the existing authorities bereft of political support? Of course not: This support was and remains the entire specter of the "democratic" camp. But it is necessary to be aware of yet one more instance

of political manipulation which is being carried out. The authorities are ready to cast the people into the market abyss against a backdrop of shortages, rising Army unemployment, and an economy unprotected against our own and foreign pillagers. Exactly why this political lunacy is under way is for specialized consideration, but it is clear to me that right now the "democratic" camp is ready to sacrifice its best workers in order to survive for future actions. They are offering us a version of anonymous "democracy" at the end of the year to replace the "democratic" power which has brought us to where we are now. The beginning of 1992 will be marked by price liberalization and a parallel campaign by the "progressive press" to unmask the "democratic degenerates" who have brought the people to poverty. Plus ca change...

The destruction of the country in 1991 was our sorrow and tragedy. In March the people were still voting for a unified state, and by August it had been destroyed with the stroke of a pen and a blatant contempt for the people's will and opinion. In doing this the so-called "evil empire," "the socialist barracks," and the "Communist concentration camp" were cursed—anything to conceal the fact that it is not these fanciful notions invented by delirious "dissident" democratic minds and nationalist provincial stupidity, but a state built through centuries of blood and toil by all peoples, through their achievements and selflessness, which has been flogged by these kings-for-a-day, who have already gone down in history as blatant opportunists. And they seek to portray the joke and humiliating disgrace which has been thrown together in place of that great state by the Belovezhskaya/Alma-Ata declarations as renewal, emancipation, and creation! No, ladies and gentlemen, a country cannot be made into a merchant's courtyard, and nobody can succeed in simply abolishing and transforming a state into a joint enterprise under the name of a "Single Economic Area" without drama and upheaval.

Given the aforesaid, the elections for the president of the RSFSR and the abortive August "putsch" are in all just links in the power crisis chain, or, if you like, stages in a politicoeconomic coup. In practice, one event led to a dyarchy in the country, and the other helped put an end to what remained of the country's integrity and destroyed those final structures, including the Army, which stood in the way of transforming the state into a cluster of "independent states," without knowing what to do with this independence or how to control it.

The year 1991 was a year of enlightenment. We were told in 1985 that we would need 18 months to two years to attain prosperity and abundance. Two years have passed, and the result is crisis in every area. Then they told us that 500 days of the utmost austerity would be all we needed, then everything would be wonderful. It was then that doubts emerged, enthusiasm waned, and the store shelves emptied. In the fall they told us that it would take a year, then six or seven months to lay the foundations, if everything were sold off. Now the majority are already thoroughly aware that, regardless of such promises, nobody living on their hard-earned pay will escape hunger and poverty, because they will be unable to afford anything on the free market. This was another truth transmitted to us by the events of 1991, and which had to be discovered in order to rid ourselves of any illusions, delusions, and myths from the era of catastrophic perestroyka.

And there is one more truth revealed to us by the events of 1991. Having lived through the perestroyka years with the misguided hope that everything would improve within a year and that we would get a new "master-fixer," the fact is that we are entering 1992 in the knowledge that we can expect no more from anybody in the times ahead except what we ourselves achieve. This is by no means hopelessness, but a cleansing insight into imminent hardships and concerns. This in itself is already forcing us to steel ourselves and be ready to defend ourselves, our families, society, and the state. Russia can help nobody unless it helps itself. This means that everything is in our hands. We must be courageous.

I have talked about what I consider to be the main events of 1991. Everything which has been said with such gloomy overtones depicts what has happened and what lies ahead for Russia. But of course, everyone can recall bright events in their personal lives, and for their nearest and dearest. These are moments of hope and faith without which man cannot live and strive forward. Society, too, witnessed events which we can each perceive as having conferred force and strengthened the soul. For me, one such significant event in the life of my people was the recovery of the relics of the Seraphim of Sarovskiy and their ceremonial transfer to Duveyevo—in accordance with the scriptures. Our national spirituality has again acquired a valuable source of goodness, enlightenment, responsiveness [vseotzyvchivost]. Whatever they may have done to us, to my people, and to my Russia, the spirit is alive and is lights the way for us into a menacing 1992. And I believe that Russia, our holy mother, will once again gather her children from various corners and will forever be united, great and indivisible.

Supreme Soviet

Law Amends Official Name of Republic

LD0501114892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1023 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Text] Law of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic amending the official name, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. The state known as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) will henceforth be called the Russian Federation (Russia).

2. The name "Russian Federation" is to be used in official enactments and other documents, in the textual description of state symbols, and in the name of state bodies, seals, stamps, and forms.

3. For the duration of 1992 the use of the former names, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and RSFSR, will be permitted in official transactions (on forms, seals, and stamps).

4. A draft RSFSR law on "amendments to the Constitution (basic law) of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and to the declaration of state sovereignty by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, arising out of the amendment of the official name, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic", is to be submitted to the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies for endorsement.

5. This law comes into force from the day of its adoption.

(Signed) B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation
Moscow, Russian House of Soviets
25 December 1991

Khasbulatov Meets With Russian Businessmen

LD0301213392 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov met representatives of the Russian business community today to discuss specific proposals on the saturation of the country's consumer market at the initial stage of the radical economic reform.

The businessmen, representing large financial and production structures, expressed their concern over a possible sharp reduction of business activities under the price liberalization conditions and total goods deficit, the Russian parliamentary press center reports.

Khasbulatov said he shares their concern and stressed the need for shifting the accent in the business community's activities from mediating to production sphere.

Khasbulatov Offers Lubenchenko Adviser Post

OW0301154892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1409 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian parliament, Mr. Ruslan Khasbulatov, has offered former chairman of the parliament of the USSR, Mr. Konstantin Lubenchenko, the post of his legal adviser. Mr. Lubenchenko told IF [INTERFAX] that he would take the decision in the middle of next week.

Khasbulatov Opposes Chechen Deputies' Recall

LD0401131392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1129 GMT 4 Jan 92

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan (TASS)—Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov does not intend to respond to the decision of the Chechen republic parliament to recall the RSFSR people's deputies elected from Checheno-Ingushetia. That is the information that, after many attempts, the TASS correspondent managed to extract from confidence-inspiring sources on the reaction of the Russian parliament head to the demand of his Chechen colleagues. At present, Checheno-Ingushetia is represented in the deputies corps by a great number of people's deputies: by Ruslan Khasbulatov; Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Matters of Legality; Akhmet Arsanov, former spokesman of the Russian president in Checheno-Ingushetia; and others. The aforementioned deputies have fallen foul of Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev. Having refused to comment on the Chechen parliament's decision, Ruslan Khasbulatov seems to have demonstrated thereby not his private attitude towards his personal "recall" but his position regarding the recall of all Russian deputies from Checheno-Ingushetia. The absence of any official reaction can be accounted for by the reluctance of the Russian leadership to overstress the fact that the Chechen republic parliament has not been recognized by Russia—something which was also recorded in the decisions of the Fifth Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. Any excessive discussion of the absence of such recognition in current conditions would complicate the talks between Russian parliamentarians and Dzhokhar Dudayev. That is probably why it has been decided not to attach importance to the decision of the Chechen parliament, and to pass it over in silence.

Committee Concerned About KGB Resignations

OW0401155792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1441 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In its Friday's [3 January] appeal to the staff of the Federal Security Agency Russia's parliamentary committee on defence and security affairs voiced concern over the mass resignations of KGB members. Resignations are submitted largely by those who resent the presidential decree of December 19 on merging the security and internal affairs agencies into one ministry.

The parliamentary committee urges the leaders and staff of the Agency to refrain from taking any steps before the Constitutional Court makes its decision in regard to the decree. As IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent learned from Sergey Kondrakhin, a prominent member of the parliamentary committee on defence and security affairs, at the moment experts are working out proposals on the ways to reorganize law-enforcing agencies. These proposals will be submitted in one package to Russia's parliament before January 22.

Group Formed To Resolve Economic, Social Ills

LD0401222792 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, has ordered the creation of an operations group to coordinate moves to resolve economic and social problems. [passage omitted] Barannikov, the Russian minister for security and internal affairs, has been instructed to create a working group to ensure constant liaison with the regions in Russia, and to gather and process incoming information.

It has been decided that all information coming in from the localities will be forwarded to Shumeyko, the operations group's leader and deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, or his deputy, at 0900 and 1900 daily, at the offices of the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. The operations group will be tasked with drafting legislative support for rulings and resolutions adopted by executive authorities.

Holds First Meeting

OW0401210892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A coordinating group on the settlement of economic and social problems related to economic reform set up by the Chairman of the Russian Supreme Council January 3 held its first meeting Saturday [4 January]. The head of the group, Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Council Vladimir Shumeyko, told reporters that on January 8 an anti-crisis headquarters will begin operating. It will gather information on the course of economic reform in all of the republic's regions. Mr. Shumeyko said at its first meeting the coordinating group discussed possible actions in the situation "when price controls have already been lifted, but shops are empty and goods are held at warehouses." In this connection, Mr. Shumeyko noted, a flexible tax policy should be pursued (possibly, in stages) in order to encourage manufacturers.

LDP Allegedly Linked to KGB, CPSU

PM0601125592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Dec 91 p 2

[TASS report: "The 'White House' Accuses"]

[Text] The statement at a news conference on Wednesday [25 December] in Russia's "White House" by Aleksandr Kichikhin, an expert from the parliamentary commission to investigate the causes and circumstances of the coup d'etat, that the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] headed by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy does not in fact exist was a sensation. According to him, there are no LDP kray, oblast, and rayon organizations, and its membership does not exceed 500-600 people.

The party's registration was carried out illegally, Aleksandr Kichikhin pointed out. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy handed forged lists on which 5,300 people appeared to the USSR Ministry of Justice for the LDP's registration. Aleksandr Kichikhin also rebuked the Central Electoral Commission, which did not check up on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's powers when he nominated himself as a candidate for the post of Russian president this summer. The LDP leader made illegal use of election campaign money and the mass media to propagandize his name. The commission considers, Aleksandr Kichikhin, a KGB lieutenant colonel dismissed from the security organs 20 August on the basis of forged documents, continued, that criminal proceedings could be instituted against Vladimir Zhirinovskiy under at least four articles, specifically for damage to property, deception, and abuse of trust, and for his calls to violate national equality. The Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office should give its findings.

The commission's materials make it possible to say, Aleksandr Kichikhin emphasized, that the CPSU actively supported and financed the LDP. Special Purpose Militia Detachment subunits guarded the LDP leader on his trips. Links have been established between Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the former USSR KGB leader Vladimir Kryuchkov. According to Kichikhin, when Zhirinovskiy would arrive in a town he would first meet with KGB staffers and make use of their services. This makes it possible to conclude, Aleksandr Kichikhin said, that the LDP is not an autonomous political party, "but a sort of wing of the CPSU." It is his opinion that the LDP's activities should come under the Russian president's decree on stopping the activities of the CPSU and its structures.

Russian People's Deputy Gleb Yakunin spoke about the use of the church by the KGB and CPSU Central Committee for participation in intelligence work within the country and abroad. He stated that, according to his information, nine out of 10 officials in the top church hierarchy were KGB agents.

Gleb Yakunin quoted the report of the KGB Fifth Directorate chief about sending an agent Svyatoslav to the United States "to take measures to compromise the American Orthodox Church as an anti-Soviet center."

Commission Chairman Lev Ponomarev said that, though parliamentarians have the impression that 32 high ranking officers were fired from organs of state security after compromising themselves during the coup d'etat, the majority of them are still working in the security organs.

People's Deputies Aleksey Surkov and Sergey Yushenkov adduced evidence of militia and Army complicity in the coup.

Deputy Viktor Sheynis raised the question of lifting the official monopoly on the KGB and CPSU archives and extending the powers of the Russian parliament commission to investigate the causes and circumstances of the coup

d'etat in August 1991. In the very near future the commission is to report to a Russian Supreme Soviet session.

Regional Affairs

Gaydar, Businessmen Reach Taxation Agreement

LD0401142792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1315 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan (TASS)—There was an evening meeting yesterday [3 January] between representatives of major entrepreneurial unions and structures, especially the Russian exchange union, and Yegor Gaydar, deputy chairman of the RSFSR government for economic policy matters. Yuriy Milyukov, chairman of the exchange union of the Moscow commodity exchange and a member of the Council of Entrepreneurs under the Moscow mayor, said that during the meeting, mutual understanding was reached over the taxation of enterprises' profits that are earmarked for internal and external investment, as well as over the taxation of brokerage firms and intermediary activities. According to Yegor Gaydar, the government has no objection to the removal of tax liability from all the funds of enterprises that are earmarked for their own development, and also from investment in the authorized capital of other commercial structures, including the purchase of shares, and so on.

The Moscow government also agrees that brokerage firms and middlemen should be taxed at a single rate for all enterprises. The Russian vice premier stressed that the issue of adopting this sort of taxation depends on the Supreme Soviet, insasmuch as the latter initiated taxation of middlemen. Yegor Gaydar supported the idea of creating an entrepreneurship council attached to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The telephone number for contacting the press service of the Moscow goods exchange is 202-65-53.

Moscow Duma Debates Food Aid Distribution

PM0701094392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Report by Olga Plakhotnikova: "No Aid for 'Phony' Poor"]

[Text] The humanitarian aid which will arrive in Moscow this winter will to all appearances be in large quantities—hundreds of thousands of tonnes. How to share it out so that not one of those who need support is left without his fair share? This problem was discussed at a session of the Moscow city duma (small Soviet).

The "Winter 1992" program of humanitarian aid proposed to deputies was elaborated by the Moscow charity center and the permanent commission for freedom of conscience, faith, charity, and philanthropy. The foreign freight, the program says, should first of all go to single nonworking pensioners and invalid, nursing mothers, single-parent families, and large families. In addition support is needed for children's homes, child centers, and old people's homes. And also for refugees. And even for the homeless. According to extremely cautious calculations there are at least 700,000 very poor and unprotected people in Moscow.

In 1991 an attempt was made to distribute foreign parcels to those entitled to them through order departments. But far from all those registered with order departments are hungry: The most enterprising of them have rapidly beaten a path to the commercial stores, where they have arranged to sell the fine-looking cans of food. Now this "free gift" method of distribution will obviously have to be abandoned. For the sake of the real, rather than "phony," poor who cannot last the winter without humanitarian food aid. The deputies suggested "maintaining" those in acute need and feeding them daily rather than "spreading" food over the entire mass of our population.

To compile lists of people who cannot survive without aid special groups will be created in the municipal districts and on the territories of the rayon economic administrations and microrayons. They will include deputies, social services workers, and representatives of the Moscow charity center and self-management committees.

The city committee for humanitarian aid will coordinate all this work. And the public, deputies, and foreign philanthropic organizations will be invited to monitor it.

There was argument at the session as to whether it is possible to sell the humanitarian aid brought to us like manna from heaven. On the one hand selling gifts is the height of impropriety. On the other the shipment and storage of freight in volumes comparable with those which we procure for ourselves requires considerable expenditure. Parcels could be sold for very nominal sums to cover this expenditure.

Understandably, it is pointless simply to "throw out" into trade part of the food which has been given to us. But why not sell dried milk or butter for instance to families where there are children? Even by no means impoverished citizens cannot buy these things for weeks on end. Normal parents of normal children, neither orphans nor invalids, can scarcely count on any tangible aid from anyone. But in protecting the poorest society should not discount the younger preschool generation.

No Essential Foodstuffs on Sale in Moscow

PM0501221192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Viktor Tolstov report: "Prices Freed: Delicacies Have Appeared in Stores, But There Are No Goods in Everyday Demand"]

[Text] Those people who reckoned that on 2 January we would wake up in another country where there would be

full counters, albeit with free prices, are experiencing one more disappointment—the miracle has not happened.

Store counters have remained ominously empty, particularly in small state stores. As you see, not even free prices can awaken commercial interest among state trade employees.

Changes are primarily noticeable in leasehold stores. Foods which are customarily considered delicacies have appeared in Moscow delicatessens. The "Novoarbatskiy" Delicatessen has fillet of Baltic salmon at 276 rubles [R] a kilogram, cold-smoked Arctic cisco at R120, cold-smoked Far Eastern salmon at R192, boiled-smoked sausage at R108, imported ham at R1,023 for a two-kilogram can, champagne at R121, and "Cabernet" at R41. The delicatessen on Tverskaya was selling ham at R68, red caviar at R96 for a 140-gram can, Swiss cheese at R42, and "Kubanskaya" vodka at R49.50.

For these times this is not a bad selection for the festive table. Things are more difficult with goods in everyday demand. Meat is on sale. In various stores, I came across beef at between R21 and R31 per kilogram, good-quality pork at R50, and chicken at R48. There is a big selection of expensive canned meat at R159, R108, R92.50, R244, and R113 per can.

Saury and sardines are on sale at R16 for a small can. Pacific herrings are R21 a kilogram. Bream and cold-smoked silver carp are R25 and R23 respectively. Stuffed cod is R12.90, roe oil [maslo ikornoye] R21.50, and butter R45. If I also add table eggs at R12 for 10, vermicelli at R12.24 per kilo, second-grade wheat flour at R6.24, and packaged tea produced in the FRG at R144 per box (100 tea bags), then I have listed practically the entire range I have encountered in stores since the morning of 2 January.

I did not encounter milk, although I was told in one place that it had been on sale in the morning at R1.96 for a one-liter carton. I did not find any bread either, although I did manage to ascertain the price too—R1.68 for a round rye loaf and the same price for a long stick of white bread made from top-grade flour.

Oranges and grapefruits have appeared in "Fruit and Vegetable" stores at R.30 [figure as published] per kilogram, but there are no potatoes, carrots, apples, and everything else that a person needs for a normal life.

I believe that Moscow will hardly be able to count on very much in the next few days. There is no reliable information on what food resources there are in the city and in nearby oblasts. But it can be assumed that the high level of prices and the emergence of vodka on free sale will nonetheless set in motion the commodity stocks that have been preserved in the countryside since the fall. At least, meat, groats, honey, and some dairy products must soon appear in the trade system.

Industrial commodity stores were not open 2 January, and so we will report later on the prices of industrial commodities.

Moscow Poll on Opinions on Gorbachev, Yeltsin

OW0401091692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0729 GMT 4 Jan 92

["Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **FOUR OUT OF TEN MUSCOVITES SAD OVER GORBACHEV'S RESIGNATION**

On December 28-29, 1991, the Moscow branch of the National Public Opinion Studies Centre polled 2040 Moscow residents to determine their attitude toward Gorbachev's resignation, says the agency Data.

According to the poll results, 38% of Muscovites regretted his resignation.

29% said it did not make any difference, and 24% were happy.

9% did not know what to say.

Margin of error: 3%.

YELTSIN OR GORBACHEV

1/3 of the respondents were convinced that Yeltsin would do better than Gorbachev as head of state.

He will do worse, say 19%.

He will not be better or worse, said 34%.

And 14% would not give a definite answer.

MOSCOW RESIDENTS STILL HOPE FOR THE BEST

43% of polled Moscow residents believe that in 1992 the economic situation will change for the worse.

27% say it will improve.

23% believe it will not change.

7% would not give a definite answer.

Nuclear Fuel Unloading in Murmansk Suspended

LD0501134692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1234 GMT 5 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov]

[Text] Murmansk, 5 Jan (TASS)— As of today, operations to unload nuclear fuel from decommissioned vessels are suspended throughout Murmansk oblast. Instructions to this effect have been issued by Yevgeniy Komarov, head of the Murmansk oblast administration.

The administrator was forced, of necessity, to take this resolute step. It has emerged that for a long time the

military has been conducting ecologically dangerous operations near Murmansk, unloading nuclear fuel from atomic submarines without warning the civil authorities or the public. Some years ago one such operation almost resulted in an accident.

Flagrant violations of radiation safety have been detected at an enterprise where nuclear submarines belonging to the Northern Fleet are overhauled.

Khabarovsk Prices Soar, Shelves Remain Empty

PM0501220592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Boris Reznik report: "Only the Price Tags Have Changed"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—Freed prices have plunged Khabarovsk into a state of shock. Small, fancy "horns" for tea, which only yesterday cost 60 kopeks—even this seemed very expensive—are now being sold at 4 rubles [R] each. A stick of bread costs the same, and a loaf costs R1.80. In the morning there is a very long line outside the baker's, and even at the new prices there is only enough bread for 120-150 minutes of trading. People are cursing vehemently both the economic reform itself and its authors.

At the greengrocer's potatoes—half-rotten and wet—were selling at R4.97 a kilogram, slimy sauerkraut at R7, and carrots at R7.60.

Cold-smoked herrings—their price used to be R1.43—now cost R18 a kilogram. There is no other fish on sale in our fishing kray.

The market was uncommonly empty: few salespeople and few customers. But the prices! A small 100-gram cellophane pack of grated piquant carrot—only recently local Koreans were selling it for R1.5-2—now costs R10. Small lemons cost R20 each, and a one-liter jar of honey costs R150.

Contrary to forecasts and expectations, there are no more goods on the counters. It is all the same, but far more expensive.

Printing of Newspapers Stopped in Khabarovsk

LD0501215492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Text] From the New Year printing of PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspapers has stopped at Khabarovsk printing house No.1, where they were sent from Moscow by phototelegraph. As Lazar Knutnik, the director of the printing house, explained, the reasons for this were the customers' inability to pay, lack of paper, as well as the economic inexpediency of printing small print runs.

'Disastrous Bread Shortage' in Vladivostok

PM0601145792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, ANI, POSTFACTUM column]

[Text] Despite the increase in prices, there is still a disastrous bread shortage in Vladivostok.

City administration chief Fedor Novikov called the city bread supply situation "alarming." The local authorities' efforts to normalize the grain products situation have been unsuccessful. According to Fedor Novikov, Vladivostok's flour stocks will last two days at the most.

Two Constitution Drafts Published in Tatarstan

OW0601183092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Two drafts for the constitution of Tatarstan have been published in the republic. One of them has been prepared by Tatarstan's parliament, the other by lawyers from the Sovereignty Committee.

In an interview given to our correspondent the committee's chairman, Mr. Amir Makhmutov, emphasized that there were essential distinctions between the two drafts. One of them concerned the international status of Tatarstan. The committee's version proclaims the republic to be a subject of international law and stresses that Tatarstan "shall base its relations with all states on mutual treaties, and shall exchange ambassadors and consuls with them without transferring its powers to anyone, in particular Russia." Nor does it mention dual nationality, which the parliamentary draft does stipulate.

Mr. Makhmutov said in this connection that Tatarstan should take all measures to prevent Russia from interfering with its internal affairs under the pretext of protecting Russian citizens.

Tatarstan Nationalist Committee Stages Rally

OW0601183692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A rally organized by the nationalist committee, Sovereignty, was held in Kazan Sunday [5 January]. The

demonstrators demanded that the parliament and President Shaymiyev set up a professional army, a national guard, a foreign ministry, frontier troops and a national bank. They urged the government to introduce a national currency before March 1 and to put the military units located in Tatarstan under the jurisdiction of that republic.

They also demanded that the joint-stock society KAMAZ and some other major industrial enterprises operating in Tatarstan be nationalized.

First Issue of Udmurt Newspaper Published

LD0201172192 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Jan 92

[Text] The first issue of the newspaper called TOLK [Sense] has come out in Udmurtia. It has been founded by the republican Council of Veterans and the Association of Foreign Economic Cooperation in aid of War Veterans. The editorial office presents all kinds of information for the elderly in eight pages—documents on social protection, accounts of veterans' cooperatives, an ABC of health, and other materials.

International Affairs

Government Establishes New Foreign Trade Bank

OW0501181092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1712 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine has announced the establishment of state export-import bank with a chartered capital of 1 billion rubles and $200 million.

In accordance with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's decree, the new bank incorporates all agencies of the USSR Vnesheconombank on the republican territory.

The republican parliament attempted to set up an export-import bank on the basis of the Ukrainian agencies of the USSR Vnesheconombank in October 1991, but after the USSR Vnesheconombank refused to guarantee the payments of its Ukrainian branch and demanded the transfer of all foreign exchange to Moscow, Kravchuk, the then parliament leader, suggested establishing a republican foreign trade bank without the participation of the USSR Vnesheconombank.

German Firm To Help Nikolayev Enter Market

LD0401112992 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT 4 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Anatoliy Kuznetsov]

[Text] Nikolayev January 4 TASS— Economists jokingly described an agreement signed by the authorities of the Ukrainian city of Nikolayev and the Berlin joint-stock society Deberag as the Marshall Plan. Deberag undertakes to help Nikolayev enter a market.

The German firm will help elaborate a plan to create and develop new branches of industry and the service sector. Priority attention will be paid to processing enterprises. Once their form of property is changed and the plants are fitted out with advanced equipment, they will yield fast return.

The consultative services are estimated to cost half a million Deutsche marks.

Deberag has already provided services in the transition to a market to almost 500 enterprises of the former German Democratic Republic.

Envoy Says Poland 'Most Important Partner'

LD3012200191 Warsaw PAP in English 1921 GMT 30 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Dec. 30—Teodozi Starak, Ukrainian Government's special represenative in Poland said Monday [30 December] that "the recognition of the Ukraine by Germany and other states marks the 'end of an illusion' that the Commonwealth called into being in Minsk is something that was established 'in place of the Soviet Union.'"

In his opinion Poland earlier than other states came to understand the character of changes in the Soviet Union and thus has become the "most important partner in (Ukrainian) foreign policy."

Starak said the fact that Germany recognized the Ukraine does not change the role and significance that the Ukraine attaches to Poland.

However, he blamed Poland for being somewhat passive at present and added:

"We expect a more animated participation (of Poland) in the implementation of the agreements on economic cooperation signed earlier." [passage omitted]

President Hails Kazakhstan Independence

LD2412000591 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1050 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk sent a telegram to Nursultan Nazarbayev in which he, on behalf of the multinational Ukrainian people and himself, sincerely congratulates him on the adoption of the law on republican independence on 16 December 1991 by the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan. He expressed confidence that the Ukraine and Kazakhstan as independent states exercising inalienable rights to self-determination will adhere to the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the principles of the Paris Charter for the new Europe, and other principles and norms of international law in strict observance of the mutual agreements envisaged in the treaty signed on 20 February 1991 in Alma-Ata.

Having recognized the independence of Kazakhstan, the Ukraine declares its readiness to establish with it full state relations on the basis of the principles of equality, soveregnity, noninterference, mutual assistance and cooperation, territorial integrity, and integrity of borders, ensuring and defending the rights of people, especially those of minority groups.

National Affairs

Black Sea Fleet Military Capacity Detailed

LD0701052492 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2209 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Ukraine's drive to acquire armed forces of its own is making headlines in the world media. Experts note that if all the ambitions of the Ukraine are satisfied, within days it will have an army equal to the Bundeswehr in numerical strength. The combat capabilities of the

fleet to which President Kravchuk lays claim would clearly exceed the defense needs of an independent Ukraine.

[Begin reporter R. Oganesov recording] The Black Sea Fleet today is a streamlined combat mechanism that maintains a strategic balance at the southern borders of the former Union, which has turned into a Commonwealth. Its ships are equipped with various kinds of weapons; the means for tracking, defending, and striking at naval, surface, and airborne enemies; and nuclear weapons delivery vehicles. The numerical strength of the personnel exceeds 100,000 people. The main naval bases are on the territory of three states that are now sovereign: Tuapse in Russia; Sevastopol, Balaklava, and Odessa in the Ukraine; and Poti in Georgia. The total number of surface and submarine vessels is about 400, including more than 30 diesel submarines carrying out alert duty, and about 65 in reserve. The fleet also includes aircraft carriers, battleships, destroyers, small first attack craft, and support vessels.

Apart from deck aviation, the fleet has on-field air-based aircraft totalling over 400 units, including 140 capable of carrying nuclear arms and performing military tasks at a great distance from base.

The Black Sea Fleet ships carry out alert duty along the coastline of the former Union and in the Mediterranean. They are a counterweight to the vessels of the U.S. 6th Fleet. This balance is operating for the time being. What will happen when the fleet is split along national lines?

Russia's proposals to subordinate the fleet to single CIS command seem the most acceptable, but the position of the presidents of Georgia and the Ukraine regarding the Black Sea Fleet have forced the naval command to relocate the Admiral Kuznetsov heavy aircraft carrier to Murmansk. A continuation of political arguments focused on the armed forces will undoubtedly undermine the military strategic parity and will leave U.S. military might on its own, something fraught with consequences not only for the CIS but for the whole world. [end recording]

Black Sea Sailors Resist Transfer

LD0601213192 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The tension over the Ukraine's establishment of its own armed forces is being artificially stirred up by generals in Moscow who do not want to lose their leading chairs. This was stated by Les Tanyuk, leader of the parliament opposition, to the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY agency. Over 80 percent of the military have agreed to swear allegiance, the same agency reports. A report from Sevastopol says that meetings are being held there today under the Russian flag at which the Black Sea sailors demand that the fleet should not be transferred to the Ukraine's jurisdiction and that it should be preserved as a single fleet all Commonwealth of Independent States members can use. An appeal to military councils of fleets and three military okrugs, transferred to the Ukraine's jurisdiction, has been adopted at a Black Sea Fleet Military Council session. It contains an appeal to recognize the decisions by the Ukrainian Government as illegal.

Further on Kravchuk Address to Military

LD0601184692 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It also is known that the Russians will be the largest ethnic group within the future Ukrainian army. One or two questions arise. For instance, in what language will commands be issued? Moreover, it would be interesting to know exactly how the regimental banners would be changed and how the oath would be retaken. Perhaps Germany could try asking Soviet forces to take the oath to the Black Eagle. However, the Ukrainian patent already is working. Here is a report from Kiev:

[Correspondent V. Lyaskalo] Observing all traditions of this ceremonial ritual with the yellow-blue flag flying and the national anthem, The Ukraine Has Not Yet Died, playing, young servicemen, new recruits, and those who already have spent some time in the Army, cadre officers of the armed forces, and the National Guard are taking an oath of allegiance to the people of the Ukraine. The text of the oath is being read out either in the Ukrainian language or in Russian. Leonid Kravchuk, the president and the commander in chief of the armed forces of the Ukraine, has addressed all servicemen who undergo military service on the territory of the Ukraine and outside its borders. He called upon each of them to make a personal choice calmly and sensibly and to decide on their future service. The regulations and the army discipline should be observed strictly. Unauthorized movements and actions should not take place. All issues will be tackled on the basis of the law. This will be done systematically and under supervision. President Kravchuk assured servicemen that the Ukrainian state guarantees social protection, civil rights, and freedoms to all servicemen, and that it will do its utmost to ensure that those who leave the army are adapted socially and professionally.

More on Military Oath; Process 'Voluntary'

LD0601181792 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" program]

[Text] The Commonwealth republics are now testing the Minsk agreement to the limit. At stake, first and foremost, is the future of the former Soviet Army. The stand

taken by the Ukraine is already well known. Today, for the second day in a row, Ukrainian servicemen are swearing an oath of allegiance to the people and to the republic's independence. So basically, the Soviet Army no longer exists. It has to be assumed, therefore, that the military oath that USSR soldiers used to swear is also no longer valid. According to Les Tanyuk, chairman of Narodna Rada, the parliamentary opposition, the tension over the Ukraine's establishment of its own armed forces is being stirred up artificially by generals in Moscow who do not want to lose their leading role. In an interview with an RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent, he said that the swearing of a new oath by military units is an absolutely voluntary process.

Official Defends Armed Forces Creation

LD0601173892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The Ukraine is acting in an honest and open manner on a legal basis, said Vasil Durdinets, chairman of the republican parliament's commission for issues of defense and state security.

He expressed his bewilderment at the assessments and remarks made by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian parliament, and by Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov relating to the creation of Ukranian armed forces. According to him, this process should come as no surprise to anyone.

Durdinets said that it has been implemented during the last five months with a wide range of consultations and talks.

Defense Ministry on Carrier's 'Redeployment'

LD0501120792 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Text] As was reported by the Moscow-based newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Ukraine came out with a protest against the redeployment of the cruising aircraft carrier Admiral Kuznetsov from Sevastopol to [word indistinct] Russia. However, the Ukraine's Defense Ministry disproved this allegation. The matter is that the Admiral Kuznetsov was passing through the Black Sea. The ship was actually built upon the order of the northern naval fleet and its crew consisted of the sailors of the northern fleet and the ship itself is registered in [word indistinct] the Russian Federation.

Tariffs, Duties Proposed for Exports

LD2912110191 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2037 GMT 29 Dec 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Customs' tariffs and duties are likely to be introduced in Ukraine on commodities exported outside the republic. Ukrainian minister responsible for the privatization program, a member of the working group for designing urgent economic reforms under the republican Cabinet of Ministers, Vladimir Lanovyy told the press-conference on December 27 that such a step might emerge as retaliation to the 40 tariff on raw materials and fuel exports from Russia and triple prices on these products exported to other republics. V. Lanovyy also said that Ukraine failed to receive sufficient amount of cash from Gossznak (16 bln [billion] rubles) for the purpose of adequate wage rise for Ukrainian workers. According to V. Lanovyy, the Ukrainian Government will take further steps to protect the economic interests of the republic given the pending liberalization of prices in Russia with regard to the latest developments. V. Lanovyy predicted that prices would rise at least 3 times in the Ukraine in January 1992, 5 times at most. He believes that the rate of price rise will slow down on all kinds of commodities, and by July 1992 the prices are likely to stabilize.

Commission Examines Raising Pensions, Coupons

LD0601231492 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] As is known, at the sitting of the fourth session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, at which the situation in the state regarding price liberalization was discussed, on the initiative of the parliament the government created a commission that included the heads of the corresponding commissions of the Supreme Soviet, people's deputies, government leaders, ministers, workers at independent trade unions, representatives of Ukrainian banks, and prominent scientists.

According to the press service of the Ukrainian prime minister, the commission immediately started work. Calculating that the minimum wage is going to be 400 rubles, the Supreme Soviet considered the question of raising pensions. The question of the financial possibility of doubling wages as (?a preventive) measure in connection with price liberalization, not from 2 January as planned but from 1 December, was also considered. In [word indistinct] way, the commission is studying the proposals of trade unions concerning the social protection of the working people— that is, possibilities are being explored for the considerable cutting of the cost of miners' dinners.

In connection with raising wages and prices going up on the consumer market, it was admitted that the maximum and minimal sums of reusable coupons, which had been fixed respectively at 400 and 200 rubles, cannot satisfy the needs of the population and have to be increased.

The final decision on this question will be taken one of these days and will be reported in the media. The commission members are aware of the fact that the high prices of certain foodstuffs are exacerbating an already difficult situation in society and, therefore, by joint effort and through consultations with local authorities, representatives will find a way out of the situation. In

particular, the question of cutting [word indistinct] prices on some groups of foodstuffs at the cost of subsidies from the state budget.

The question of accelerating demonopolization and commercialization was also considered. It was deemed feasible to start that process in the nearest time. In accordance with the character of the main problems touched upon at the session of the Supreme Soviet, five working groups were created which headed the corresponding commissions of the Supreme Soviet and [word indistinct] of the government.

State Minister Explains Economic Policy

AU0301141692 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 40 (45), Dec 91 p 2

[Interview with Volodymyr Tymofiyovych Lanovyy, Ukrainian state minister for questions of ownership and entrepreneurship; place and date not given: "Status of a Developing Country for the Ukraine?"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Government has adopted a decision to create a commission to deal with training highly skilled specialists abroad. The newspaper has asked V.T. Lanovyy, head of the commission and state minister for questions of ownership and entrepreneurship, to explain certain aspects of this work.

[Lanovyy] The young Ukrainian state needs specialists and highly skilled managers. For example, all of us complain of the heavy burden left by the old bureaucratic system and of the disproportionally great numbers of officials, but today, under the conditions of independence, it is necessary to fill the structures of the state government with specialists who are capable of thinking in new ways and who are familiar with the laws of the market economy and with privatization mechanisms.

One of the ways to prepare new cadres is to send them abroad for training and practical work, as well as to invite foreign specialists, experts, and consultants to our country.

This is generally known as technical aid to developing countries. However, the Ukraine must try and acquire the status of a developing country, and then we will be able to count upon the West's financial resources. The Ukraine is simply unable to send students abroad at its own expense: We do not have enough currency.

A commission of the EC has created a Fund of Technical Aid to the USSR and allocated 400 million ECUs [European currency units] to this for 1991. Approximately one-tenth of this sum must go to the Ukraine. More specifically, these are not direct financial "infusions"; we may be given assistance in the form of consultations by foreign specialists and preparing highly skilled cadres abroad. This may consist of several weeks' or months' training for our economists, financiers, managers, and businessmen in corresponding firms of world standing.

There is already an agreement on providing such specific aid to the Ukraine with Great Britain and Canada.

[URYADOVYY KURYER] Does that mean that those who wish may start packing their suitcases?

[Lanovyy] You see, until now, state organs have not been involved in this process of training cadres abroad. Anyone could establish contacts and agree on cooperation. We can only guess about the results of such journeys. State interests and the reputation of our managerial structures are also affected here.

I know that it is common practice in some countries that get technical aid from the West to demand that those who return from training periods abroad or who take an advanced course there to report on the results or to present a project.

We also want to introduce this practice and to coordinate interests between our organizations and foreign organizations. A commission has been created at government level for this purpose. Its members represent various branches of our industry. Our efforts are directed toward developing market economy structures as fast as possible.

[URYADOVYY KURYER] Volodymyr Tymofiyovych, you recently returned from the United States where you headed a Ukrainian governmental delegation. What was the purpose of the visit?

[Lanovyy] The delegation was composed of representatives of Ukrainian government, scientific, and business circles. However, all of us had to be, first and foremost, proponents of the political interests of our state. I became aware of the fact that the wave of misinformation and distortion of the main principles of our policy that came from the former center had reached the United States. During the seven days of the visit we held quite a number of meetings and discussions or had to explain the positions of the Ukraine with regard to certain problems of our domestic and external policy.

In my opinion, we succeeded in the main thing—representatives of American government and parliamentary circles, of international financial organizations, and of big business became convinced of the sincerity of our intentions to build a democratic and civilized state, integrated into the international community. For that reason, the interest in the Ukrainian delegation increased daily. Even unscheduled visits to the ministers of trade and finance and to the aides of Bush and Quayle took place. We also participated in scientific discussions on questions of privatization, transition to the market, and development of new economic relations that were held at Harvard University, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, at the New York Institute of Strategic Studies, and at the Institute of the International Economy in Washington.

It was very interesting for us to meet with leading financiers and bankers, in particular, with the multimillionaires George Soross and Alan Kay, because these people largely determine the economic policy of the United States and, we could say, of world business. The American side showed interest in investing in the reconstruction of our greater infrastructure—railroad stations, airports, hotels, banks, and insurance companies. An agreement was reached on helping the Ukraine in the creation of a stock exchange, in the implementation of banking reform, and in the privatization of enterprises.

[URYADOVYY KURYER] The prospects are quite impressive. However, is it possible to conclude that some practical results have been achieved?

[Lanovyy] The process of mutual recognition is under way. America is discovering the Ukraine for itself. We are just emerging from the shadow of the former Union, and time is needed for us to become reliable and equal partners of highly developed countries. We must prove to everybody that we have not proclaimed independence for the sake of satisfying ambitions but in order to ensure a high standard of living for our people.

[URYADOVYY KURYER] There is much talk about the information published in some newspapers to the effect that you allegedly declared in America that the Ukraine was ready to pay one-fourth of the USSR's external debt.

[Lanovyy] This is pure speculation. No statements were made on the question of inheriting the Soviet Union's external debt by the Ukraine. I regard the misinformation published by central newspapers as an attempt to discredit the Ukraine and its representatives who have openly and directly exposed the levers of the financial, economic, and ideological pressure exerted by the center upon our state in order to force it to remain within the Union.

Kravchuk Social Protection Measures Cited

924A0371A Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Dec p 1

[Unattributed article: "Coupons Introduced in the Ukraine"]

[Text] **How can social protection be provided for the people of the Ukraine in view of the price liberalization policy that will be introduced in Russia at the beginning of January? This has been practically the main subject of the discussions that are now taking place in the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, since K.I. Masik, first deputy prime minister of the country, returned from Alma-Ata.**

Both the Ukrainian Government and the Supreme Soviet were driven into a dead-end street by the acute shortage of cash money and by the refusal of the Russian Federation Government to postpone the beginning of the "measure" for at least a little while. Finally they have adopted what is considered here a protective measure: Starting 10 January, the Ukraine will introduce multiple-use coupons which will be used as payment for food and manufactured goods. In essence, this is an introduction of another type of money to be used in parallel with rubles.

Coupons will be issued to the public once a month or more often; the amount will be computed at 25 percent of a month's income after taxes and other mandatory payments but not to exceed R [ruble] 400. If the retail prices rise, the limits on the coupon amounts should also increase.

President L. Kravchuk issued a ukase aimed at expanding social protection of the people. Effective 2 January 1992, it allows a 100-percent increase of government pay and salary rates for the people employed in the areas of health care, education, culture, science, and law enforcement, as well as for those employed by judicial courts, government power and management services, and other budget organizations. Benefits for families with children and unemployment and temporary disability benefits are being doubled. Government pensions issued before 1 January 1992, stipends for higher educational establishment students, graduate and post-graduate students, and vocational teacher-training school students are being increased by 100 percent.

Poll Shows Majority Favor Crimea in Ukraine

LD0601151192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] How do people see the future of the Crimea? This question was put to people during a public opinion survey which was carried out recently in four cities: Simferopol, Yalta, Dzhankoy, and Sudak and in three countryside rayons of the Crimea. Of those polled, 42 percent think that the Crimea should stay as part of Ukraine, whereas 15 percent of the respondents spoke in favor of it being part of Russia. More than 22 percent of those who took part in the poll stated that the Crimea should become a sovereign republic within the Commonwealth of Independent States. The opinion poll was carried out by the Crimean Sotsis [Sociological Research Service].

Nationalists Want To Set 'Ethnic Borders'

PM0301104392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 91 p 2

[Correspondent S. Romanyuk report: "As Stepan Bandera Bequeathed?"]

[Excerpt] A Grand Assembly of the "Ukrainian State Independence" political organization, which has proclaimed itself the heir to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, has been held in Lvov.

The nationalists rated positively the results of the all-Ukrainian referendum but spoke out categorically against the idea of the Commonwealth. Ukrainian State

Independence announced that its ultimate goal is to establish the ethnic borders of the Ukraine, including part of Poland, Moldova, Russia, and Belarus, within which Ukrainians must enjoy preferential rights. [passage omitted]

Izmail Executive Committee Dismissed

LD0701033492 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 29 Dec 91

[Text] An extraordinary event has taken place in Izmail [Odessa region]. The town council has been left without its executive body. At a regular meeting, an extraordinary session had to be held. By a large majority of votes, deputies expressed a lack of confidence in the executive committee for its lack of initiative and lack of professionalism in its work.

That is the case. In the last two years the town on the Danube has fallen even further into decline. Shelves in the shops have become completely empty, although there are rich collective farms, state farms, and peasant farms in the region. Transport is working in an unsatisfactory way. Water supplies and heat supplies to apartments are irregular. The entire town executive committee was forced to resign, while its head, Nikolayev, was tasked with acquiring a new team and capably improving the situation.

Kravchuk Appoints New Trade Minister

LD0301151792 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Ukrainian President Kravchuk signed a decree appointing Volodymir Serheyevich Tymofeyev the trade minister of the Ukraine.

Belarus

Defense Minister on Forming Republic Army

PM0601153792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Jan 92 p 1

[Interview with Belarussian Defense Affairs Minister Lieutenant General P. Chaus by Colonel P. Chernenko; place and date not given: "Lt. Gen. P. Chaus: We Are in No Hurry Over a Defense Ministry for Fear of Fouling Up"]

[Text] As our newspaper has already reported, the Belarus Supreme Soviet has appointed Lieutenant General P. Chaus the republic minister for defense affairs. Our correspondent met with Lt. Gen. P. Chaus.

[Chernenko] Petr Grigoryevich, you have been in your new post for a month now. What has been done in that time?

[Chaus] I will say straightaway that we have only just begun setting up the ministry, but certain work has already been carried out. The areas of our activity and the procedure for collaboration with local state organs and the Supreme Soviet have been outlined. Contacts have been established with the command of the Belarussian Military District and large strategic formations and combined units under central command, and conferences have been held with military commissars and chiefs of civil defense staffs. Meetings have been held with the leadership of the strategic nuclear forces stationed on the republic's territory and with officers of military and Suvorov schools, students at Moscow academies drafted for military service from Belarus, and soldiers' mothers....

Work is now being conducted in a difficult situation for us: The ministry as such does not yet exist; there is a minister and an organizational group. We are in no hurry to create ministry structures for fear of fouling up. Look before you leap....

[Chernenko] Addressing the Belarus Supreme Soviet, you clearly laid out a program for the organizational development of the republic's armed forces and the implementation of military reform. Was this the fruit of long reflection or was it impromptu?

[Chaus] Neither really. To say that the program took shape over a long time would be dishonest. I did not know I would be appointed minister. But certainly, the future of the Army was bound to concern me, like every officer. Serving in the Baltic and following the development of events in the republics and the country as a whole, I felt strongly that difficult trials and radical reform were in store for the Army. Thinking about these problems and studying questions of the military reform worked out in the USSR Defense Ministry, I as a Belarussian also thought about what kind of army there could be in Belarus. I will not hide that I had some ideas. But when the question was specifically posed, the program emerged in just a few days and nights. It can be put this way: The program was long in gestation, but the birth was quick. The program's formation is clearly not completed yet, and I am sure that we will soon formulate the optimum version of it.

[Chernenko] Nevertheless, what will Belarus' armed forces be like?

[Chaus] Both the structure and the strength of the republic armed forces depend to a large extent on the quality, so to speak, of the troops. In my opinion, they should consist of the border troops to ensure the protection of the republic's borders and army combined units and units capable of promptly tackling the tasks that arise. It is still too early to talk about their composition and manning. The main thing is that the Belarussian armed forces should be small in number, flexible in their application, and highly combat-ready. There is a lot of work ahead. So many troops are stationed on Belarussian territory that the republic is incapable of maintaining them itself, but to reduce these troops quickly to reasonable limits is also impossible. I stress that the lives of thousands of officers, warrant officers, and their families are tied up with this. A sensible, consistent program to reduce the troops of the Belarussian Military District and retrain servicemen who leave the Armed Forces is necessary. But, whatever the conditions, both now and in the future the troops, whatever their strength may be, should deal solely with their own business.

[Chernenko] As is well known, the Ukraine has stated that all the [military] districts on its territory and the Black Sea Fleet will be transferred to the command of republic structures and will form part of the national armed forces. Drawing a parallel, what is the future of the Belarussian Military District?

[Chaus] Drawing a parallel, as you put it, I must say that changes, considerable changes, are in store for the Belarussian Military District. We studied the situation in the republic and, on the basis of our assessment of it, drew up two basic options for reorganizing the district. The first is to create a republic Ministry for Defense Affairs as a separate organism on top of the existing district structures. When we did all the calculations and examined how all this would look from the outside, as it were, we came to the conclusion that this option was far from the best, as additional organs of control and a management apparatus that had not existed in the republic before would be created. This is unwieldy and disadvantageous from an economic standpoint. So both parliament and the government are inclined to go for the second option, which envisages the creation of a Defense Ministry on the basis of the Belarussian Military District management, appropriately reorganized.

[Chernenko] A few words about military schools in Belarus: What is their future?

[Chaus] I already covered this question in the republic Supreme Soviet. It is intended to modernize the antiaircraft missile school and expand it with a view to training specialists not just for air defense but also for other categories of troops. We are thinking of creating a ground forces school on the basis of the present military school and of training officers there for the specific combined units and units stationed on Belarussian territory. We will train psychologists, educationalists, lawyers, sociologists, tank crew, artillerymen, motorized riflemen, and communications personnel. As far as the Suvorov school is concerned, its purpose is not changing for the moment.

[Chernenko] Petr Grigoryevich, a figure of 90,000 is being "bandied about" in the newspapers. This is said to be the number of troops Belarus should have. What do you say on this score?

[Chaus] Ninety thousand is the rough strength of the republic armed forces. This figure cannot be rigidly adhered to today. The date when we will approach it has not been determined either. However, why should it be 90,000? As the experience of civilized countries shows, .8-.9 percent of the adult population usually serves in the army. The figure was arithmetically computed on this basis. But in determining the strength of the armed forces, you need not just arithmetic, but algebra, so to speak, and even geometry. In short, for the moment this is a guide figure, which has no political or economic basis as yet.

[Chernenko] Once again regarding a press report. You rceently met with members of the Belarussian Servicemen's Association at the Belarussian permanent mission in Moscow. Belarus' NARODNAYA GAZETA reported that apparently the minister viewed the invitees to the meeting as the future cadre backbone of the republic armed forces....

[Chaus] That description does not, to put it mildly, correspond to reality. The cadre backbone of the future Belarussian armed forces already exists. These are the officers and warrant officers of the Belarussian Military District. But it is essential to reinforce them with officers studying in the academies—that, you appreciate, is essential and realistic. So let us leave that expression to the conscience of the journalists who devised it.

German Firms To Build Soldiers' Settlements

PM0601144592 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Jan 92

["Novosti" report by A. Guretskiy and A. Sinegubov]

[Text] [Guretskiy] This is a festive ceremony in the Belarus town of Bereza on the Berlin-Brest-Moscow highway. It is not merely a tradition; this event marked the beginning of construction work. It was a festival of joy, inspiring hopes that our unfortunate servicemen's families would soon acquire the home comforts and family happiness they so urgently need.

The Belarus leadership has decided to lay the foundations of as many as five residential settlements for them. The settlements should not only provide suitable accommodation but also include nurseries, trade centers, and restaurants. All the facilities should be ready for use within a year.

Obviously these are tough conditions but, in equal and fair competition, just such guarantees were given by the Belarus firm (Mapit) and its eastern German partner (Elbe-Bau), which are members of a Soviet-German construction joint venture. Let's remember that name, because in precisely a year we will be entitled to return here to greet the New Year and to congratulate people on their house-warmings. A total of eight such settlements will be built in Belarus.

Moldova

Interior Troops Unit Pledges Allegiance

OW0601181392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] An interior troops battalion in the Dnestr city of Grigoriupol, which had earlier belonged to the USSR Interior Ministry, was put on the oath of allegiance to Moldova January 5. This is the first military unit of the former Union to have been subordinated to Moldova.

As before, the first national guard battalion will be located in Grigoriupol which is several kilometres from Dubossary.

Security Chairman on Armed Forces Formation

PM0701112192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from roundup of RIA and TASS reports: "Army Being Formed in Moldova"]

[Text] In accordance with the Minsk accords, questions of the creation of its own armed forces are being resolved on the practical plane in Moldova. "A package of laws on the armed forces of the republic of Moldova is being prepared," stated George Mazilu, acting chairman of the commission for security and military questions of the republic's parliament.

He noted that the republic's own armed forces will be created on the basis of the units and subunits of the former Soviet Army stationed on Moldova's territory.

President Snegur on Links With CIS, Romania

PM0601155692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Moldovan President Mircea Ion Snegur by Eduard Kondratov in Kishinev; date not given: "The People Determine the Future of the State"]

[Text] [Kondratov] Mr. President, you are known as an ardent champion of Moldova's independence. To what extent could its membership with the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] limit its sovereignty?

[Snegur] Not at all. After all, the agreement itself, the Alma-Ata declaration, and other documents stress that each state belonging to the Commonwealth remains absolutely independent. If you look into it deeply, membership with the Commonwealth—this one, or in future maybe some other community—is a guarantee of the strengthening of our countries' independence. Independence is not only a fine-sounding word. To call yourself an independent state when you have a paralyzed economy is nonsense. The people certainly did not envisage independence in name only when they embarked on the path of national rebirth and democracy; they envisaged genuine democracy that would enable the republic to stand firmly on its feet.

[Kondratov] Why do you think it is vitally necessary for Moldova to belong to the CIS? Would it not be more advantageous to turn toward Europe?

[Snegur] Politicians, if they want the people to respect them, have to be consistent. Because Moldova was a pioneer of the Commonwealth idea, to go back on it and abandon the formula we ourselves proposed would make us look ridiculous in the eyes of the entire world community. But that is, of course, not the most important thing. What is more important is that it is a matter of vital necessity. Moldova's national economy is highly integrated into the economy of the former USSR. To go and break ties that have grown up over half a century would mean not only halting and blocking the development of the republic's economy but also pushing it toward a yawning precipice. I hope I do not need to say more about the consequences of such a step, the inevitable production stoppages, mass unemployment, energy crisis, and therefore hunger and cold.

Especially since membership of the Commonwealth certainly does not mean that Moldova will once again come under the thumb of the center and obediently do as it is told. No, in Alma-Ata we decided in principle: There will be no "big brothers" in the Commonwealth. If, say, we decide to introduce a national currency to protect the internal market—we will do so.

As for a possible turn toward the West, of course we will not sit idly by; we will start looking for approaches to other communities, too. But that is hardly likely to succeed immediately. You need a good reputation. The republic must first be recognized as a reliable partner.

At the same time I believe that Moldova's advantageous geographical position—virtually at the meeting point of the two communities, the CIS and the EC—will greatly help to accelerate its integration into the European economy.

[Kondratov] Will economic links with Romania and other East European countries be further developed?

[Snegur] That is an important question. We already have too many links with Romania—history, language, culture—not to give a special place to our relations with that country. Let me say frankly: Moldova should integrate with Romania both culturally and economically, taking any opportunity to this end. I think Romania also has an interest in our two sovereign countries having close scientific and cultural contacts, creating joint enterprises, and exchanging students and specialists. Moldova's membership in the CIS certainly does not hamper this rapprochement. We are by no means bound by some kind of ban that could hamper the development of those links with Romania that are so dear to us. Like the links that, say, Brazil has with Portugal. It is only natural—we are linked by blood ties.

[Kondratov] What do you expect in the new year, 1992?

[Snegur] A decisive turnaround in the economy, which would help, first and foremost, to provide people with food and essential goods. Moldova will begin to implement its reforms shoulder to shoulder with the Commonwealth countries. As long as we all have a single currency and our integration is so close, we should coordinate all our actions with each other on the road to the market. The Moldova parliament recently gave me, as president, additional powers; I am entitled to adopt—pending the adoption of laws—decrees designed to make the economic transformations more dynamic. The first step toward a market economy will be the price liberalization from 2 January and the indexation of the population's income.

From now on the work of all Moldova's enterprises and organizations will proceed in strict compliance with the agreements concluded by the independent states. I wish to stress particularly that as president I intend to operate in very close contact with parliament.

[Kondratov] In concluding agreements with other states, Moldova also has to take into account the economic potential of the Dnestr region. How is that possible if enterprises on the left bank of the Dnestr want nothing to do with the government of Moldova?

In general, Mr. President, how is this knot to be unraveled?

[Snegur] Without shooting, in any case. It is time to put weapons back where they belong. This long, drawn-out conflict between the two "banks" can only be resolved by peaceful discussions at the table of consensus. The conciliation commission successfully put out the fire in Dubossary. Now we are setting up two more such groups

to regulate relations—politico-legal and financial-economic. The birth of the CIS should, I think, put an end to attempts to destroy Moldova's integrity. It has become clear today that the illegally proclaimed so-called Gagauz and Dnestr Republics are not recognized by a single one of the states that formerly made up the USSR. So it is high time for the experts, economists, lawyers, and political scientists to get down to work to find a mutually acceptable form of self-government for the regions. What this will be—a free economic zone or something else—is for them to think about, argue about, and seek.

[Kondratov] But there must be concessions on both sides.

[Snegur] Indubitably. There is scope for reaching a consensus. It is necessary to sit at the table and discuss things, person to person. No doubt a more realistic view must be taken of the particular problems worrying the Dnestr people and the Gagauz. After my swearing in, I intend to study the idea of forming a government of national consensus. But discussion is possible only if our eyes are not blinded by a fog of political ambition. It is time finally to remember the people, whose main need today is for tranquility and confidence in the future.

[Kondratov] The opposition—the People's Front leadership—claims that you betrayed your people, because only unification with Romania meets their aspirations. You are mercilessly censured by the opposition press, especially since Alma-Ata. How do you react to this, Mr. President?

[Snegur] I am convinced that in a democratic society, opposition is necessary. But our Moldovan opposition is, to put it mildly, highly specific. I am not complaining because it exists—so be it; you can't please everyone. But what use, tell me, is an opposition that has no constructive proposals? For six months now the People's Front leaders have gone on and on reviling the name of the president of Moldova. It is embarrassing even to talk about it. But the population no longer takes any notice of them. The people know very well who is who. The recent elections proved that.

[Kondratov] You have not said anything about the most important point—your disagreement with the opposition on the question of Moldova's future.

[Snegur] Yes, the People's Front ideologists and I have different goals. Overcoming incredible difficulties, we are tackling the economy, the consolidation of forces, and the implementation of the declaration of independence. They are concerned about the problem of reunification with Romania. And only that. But here too, if I may say so, the people themselves should have the last word. It is too great a responsibility—even for parliament—to decide the future of nearly 4.5 million people without even finding out their opinion. But the People's Front ideologists are afraid of a referendum. I can see why. No doubt they know that the people will not back them.

That is why I recently asked the Moldova parliament to adopt a law on referendums as quickly as possible, so that then, after conducting a nationwide poll, we can say not emptily "in the people's name," but through the people's own lips whether Moldova should be an independent state or go over to Romania. I give you my word: Whatever my people may decide, I will be with them.

Prime Minister Announces Coupons System

LD0601150192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1139 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 6 Jan (TASS)—The Moldovan Government is drafting a range of measures to protect the consumer market, in particular the introduction on 1 February of a coupon system, Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski said in a televised interview. He stated that the coupons would remain in force until a national currency could be introduced (in five to six months).

Observers comment that the Moldovan authorities have been forced to resort to this by the Ukrainian leadership's decisions to switch to coupons. The Moldovan prime minister noted that the price liberalization process is advancing with great difficulty. Trade organizations have been refusing to accept meat, dairy, and other produce from processing plants under the pretext that there is no guarantee that it can be sold at the new prices; Muravski called this economic sabotage. The government has ordered ministers and executive committee heads to impose the proper procedures within two weeks.

According to incoming reports, prices have begun to drop for certain types of agricultural produce on the market under the influence of the new state trading system. The head of the government said that price liberalization would be accompanied in the near future by the beginnings of privatization, primarily in the trade and public utility sectors.

Leaders Explain Economic Situation to Locals

LD0601184392 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Text] There was a meeting yesterday in the republic's government between President Mircea Snegur, Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi, and leaders of local authorities. Its main aim was to discuss the tactics of the government in close contact with executive organs of power in carrying out radical economic reform, the first step which is price liberalization for goods and services to the population.

Opening the meeting, Mircea Snegur noted that free prices for goods and services were not a pleasant surprise for the Moldovan citizens. However, this desperate step had to be undertaken sooner or later. Giving a brief

description of the present state of the republic's economy, Valeriu Muravschi stressed that this was the first time that radical economic transformations were being undertaken. Nobody has great experience of introducing elements of the market to the national economy. The carrying out of radical economic reform cannot be insured against making mistakes, he added. But these mistakes [words indistinct]. In his view, in the first stages there must be the strictest monitoring of fixed prices for bread, milk, sugar, and other basic necessities. Nobody has the right to raise prices on this category of goods. The economic police, the [word indistinct] guard, and the tax inspectorate must closely check this.

Concerning the social measures intended to protect the poorer strata of the population, the prime minister mentioned indexation along with other measures. However, he stressed that 100 percent indexation will be placed on incomes not in excess of 800 rubles per month. For people with higher wages, the price rises will be compensated partially. Valeriu Muravschi explained the more than five-fold increase in costs of intercity motor vehicle travel by the fact that they had resorted to such a price list in the Ukraine. For this reason, he noted, it would be pointless to introduce a two-fold rise in the cost of travel in the initial period. A speech was made at the meeting by Andrey Sangeli, first deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and food.

Kazakhstan

Diplomatic Ties Established With China

OW0401125992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Saturday [4 January] Kazakhstan and China decided to establish diplomatic relations on the level of ambassadors, IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent was told at the press service of the Kazakh president. On Friday [3 January] and Saturday [4 January] a governmental delegation from China led by the minister of foreign trade Li Lanqing visited Alma-Ata at the invitation of the Kazakh leadership.

In the course of talks the Kazakh leaders said that they will refrain from establishing diplomatic relations with Taiwan for the time being. Nevertheless they will develop trade and economic ties with it.

The two sides reached an agreement on setting up in Kazakhstan joint zones for economic and technical development where China will enjoy privileges envisaged by Kazakhstan's legislation. In the near future shops, restaurants, hotels and plants manufacturing cars, advanced household equipment, furniture, garments, footwear and other consumer goods are to emerge there.

Supreme Soviet Debates Draft Military Budget

PM0601115192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Dec 92 First Edition p 1

["Direct Line" report by correspondent Colonel A. Ladin: "Defense Expenditure Revised"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—On 25 December the republic of Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet seventh session began its discussion of the draft law on the republic budget for 1992. Deputies said that military expenditure is being increased. Answering a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's question, K. Yerezhepov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, explained that this was due to the fact that all internal troops were now under the republic president's command. A national guard is also being set up.

The news is that Kazkahstan will allocate 5 percent of the sum that is finally agreed on at the upcoming meeting of heads of independent states in Minsk for the upkeep of the army of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Kazakhstan's contribution to the common defense budget will probably be around 17 billion rubles.

Elects New Deputy Chairman

LD2812171791 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0100 GMT 26 Dec 91

[Text] Yesterday the parliament examined the reviewed draft law on the tax system in the republic of Kazakhstan. Taking into account the changes introduced by Deputy Ospanov and voting on it article by article, parliament adopted the law. [passage indistinct]

Finance Minister Abdikadirov delivered a report on the draft law on the republican budget for 1992 that had been of particular interest for parliamentarians. More than 40 deputies took part in the debate. Later this law was also adopted.

At the session, changes were introduced in the composition of the constitutional commission to which Nursultan Nazarbayev was elected chairman. A working commission was set up for the preparation on the draft law on immigration. [passage indistinct] A break until 9 January 1992 was declared at the session. The Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet elected Comrade Kayrolla Jetkizgen-Ulu Erejep as deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. This decision was approved by a relevant resolution of the Supreme Soviet yesterday.

According to the press office of the Supreme Soviet, the first news conference by Erejep took place. He answered questions from correspondents from newspapers, radio, and TV who were present at the parliament's seventh session. He spoke about upgrading the work of the highest legislative body, strengthening legal foundations of the state life of the indepedent Kazakhstan, and expanding powers of the local authorities. He also spoke about the role of mass media in propogating the laws approved. The journalists warmly congratulated Kayrolla Erejep on being elected to a high post and wished him success.

Party Wants 'Clear-Cut' Economic Program

LD0601115492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan are deregulating prices today. The Kazakh Social Democratic Party's coordinating council feels that liberalizing prices in the republic on 6 January may simply boil down to an increase in prices by the state. The coordinating council says in a statement that the Kazakh Government must immediately draw up a clear-cut program for radical economic reform or resign.

Kyrgyzstan

Diplomatic Relations Established With China

OW0601155492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] China and Kyrgyzstan have established diplomatic relations. The Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei and the Foreign Minister for Kyrgyzstan Muratbek Imanaliyev signed the announced agreement.

They agreed through signing the document that relations between the two neighbouring states would develop from now on "on the basis of friendship and cooperation, founded on mutual respect of the sovereign and territorial whole, mutual non-aggression, the non-intervention in each others' internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and a peaceful coexistence."

Kyrgyzstan also acknowledged Taiwan as a constituent of China and stressed that official relations would not be established with Taiwan in any form.

President Signs Social Protection Decree

LD0401150992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Kyrgyzstan President Akayev has signed a decree on additional measures to give social protection to the republic's population in connection with price liberalization, Kyrgyz Radio reports. According to the decree, the wages of workers in budget organizations in Kyrgyzstan are to be doubled. A 350 ruble minimum level for wages and pensions is also established.

Tajikistan

Government Denies Enriched Uranium Deals

LD0601174592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Galina Grigoneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 6 Jan (TASS)—The Tajikistan Government denied a report on there being enterprises in the republic engaged in processing enriched uranium and on the discovery of new deposits recently. Such a statement was made on behalf of the republican Cabinet of Ministers by Georgiy Koshlakov, chairman of the State Committee for the Economy, at a session of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet. His speech was prompted by a report by the Nant local news agency, which also was carried by a number of foreign agencies. The report published by the republican NARODNAYA GAZETA [People's Newspaper] mentioned the existence of uranium deposits and special processing plants in Tajikistan. It also voiced "concern in connection with the interest shown by a number of Muslim Arab states in Tajik uranium." The Tajik Cabinet of Ministers representative said that, during talks on trade and economic cooperation with Muslim Arab states, the issue of uranium was not touched upon at all, because "even to raise this issue would have been absurd." In connection with the government's statement, the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet instructed the republican procurator to carry out an investigation on the publication by the Nant agency of "a sensational report."

New Defense Chief Supports Minsk Accords

OW0601184892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Tajik President Mr. Rakhman Nabiyev has appointed Major-General Farrukh Niyazov chairman of Tajikistan's National Defence Committee. Previously, Mr. Niyazov had been chief of the republican civil defence staff.

Shortly after his appointment, Mr. Niyazov said that independent Tajikistan would strictly observe the Minsk agreements dealing with the defence of the Commonwealth member-states and with centralized command of the armed forces. He also said that the formation of Tajikistan's National Defence Committee did not at all mean the formation of a national army. The committee, he said, will ensure that the current defence laws be properly implemented, and make proposals on perfecting them. It will also be involved in forming and exercising control over the units located in Tajikistan and also in the creation of the Commonwealth's collective defence system and in drafting the republic's defence policy.

Supreme Soviet Views Tax Laws, New Republic

LD0601220692 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan of the 12th convocation continued its work in Dushanbe today. During the morning session, deputies discussed draft laws on income tax on the citizens of Tajikistan, foreign nationals, and stateless individuals; a value-added tax; a tax on owners of transport vehicles and cars and other [word indistinct]; state duty and indirect taxation; and adopted them with amendments and addenda.

During the afternoon session, deputies began discussion on the draft law of the republic of Tajikistan on land payment. On this subject, a report was presented by the chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet commission. However, because the discussion of the draft law was incomplete, the vote was postponed to the next session. Later, other items on the agenda were discussed. The deputies heard a report from the Cabinet of Ministers on the work of enterprises of defense concerns in Leninabad Oblast. Kashlakov, chairman of the State Economic Committee of Tajikistan, presented a report on the subject.

At the end of the afternoon session, the session began discussion on the decision of the soviet of people's deputies of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast of Tajikistan dated 9 December 1991 on changing the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast to the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Republic within the composition of the republic of Tajikistan. Following questions and answers and long discussions, the session did not

reach a conclusion. At the decision of the session, commissions of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan were instructed to examine within two days the arrangements to change from autonomous oblast to autonomous republic and propose it for discussion to the session of the Supreme Soviet, which will be continuing its work on 9 January. With this, the session's meeting was ended. The session will continue its work on 9 January at 1000 hours.

Adopts 28% Value-Added Tax

LD0601215592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1834 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Tajikistan parliament on January 6 adopted a law introducing a 28 percent value-added tax in the republic. Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Deputy Takhir Abdujabbor told PF [POSTFACTUM] that the enforcement of the law on value-added taxes will negatively affect taxpayers, i.e. ordinary customers, as well as the emerging cooperative movement and entrepreneur activity. He believes that the value-added tax may become another cause of bankruptcy of entrepreneurs who have not yet become truly independent. Tajikistan Finance Minister Norboy Yunusov said that the republic is daily losing approximately R [ruble] 1 million due to import of commodities bought in other republics where value-added taxation has been imposed, whereas it is exporting goods without taking the tax into account. According to the Tajikistan Cabinet of Ministers, the republican budget is supposed to receive R791 million from the new tax. The Tajikistan Supreme Soviet also adopted laws on income taxation of citizens of the republic of Tajikistan, foreign nationals, persons with no citizenship, on taxation of transport vehicles and on state duty.

President's New Year Message to Citizens

LD0701032192 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0120 GMT 1 Jan 92

[New Year "message" by Tajik President Nabiyev]

[Excerpt] Peace be upon you, dear compatriots and the noble people of Tajikistan. Allow me to congratulate you all from the bottom of my heart on the occasion of the New Year and to wish for you all that the New Year is a year full of blessings and prosperity, friendship and fraternity, and a year for carrying out and fulfilling new work plans.

It is true that 1991 was a difficult year, a year of hardship, for every citizen of Tajikistan. I hope the New Year will be sweet, prosperous, and tranquil, a year of blessings, and that the people will have a share of its blessings. However, for this we all have to unite and work conscientiously. We should be friends and brothers and should acknowledge the worth of every worker and peasant, every worker of science and literature, art and culture. You know that only creative labor is the key to success and prosperity. Regrettably, in recent years most of us have become accustomed to talking instead of working. It is true that breaking the old mold of leadership and the construction of a new society is not an easy task. This can be achieved with many difficulties.

Today Tajikistan is an independent and sovereign state. This great political and historic success is the victory of all Tajik people. On the eve of the New Year, many countries of the world have officially recognized Tajikistan. Economic and cultural relations have been established. A new state order has been created. The 11 republics of the former Soviet Union have formed a new Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. The republic of Tajikistan is one of them. Beginning with the New Year we will witness its positive results. Social protection of the people is the center of agreements among the independent states. Therefore, I believe that in the New Year many problems in our lives will be solved.

As you are aware from the mass media reports, a meeting of the leaders of the 11 sovereign states was held in the city of Minsk on 30 December. From among 13 items on the agenda, 10 were discussed. We reached a clear conclusion that the CIS has many strong forms of cooperation. The documents adopted in this regard are witness to fact. From among them, I mention these documents that were adopted yesterday evening: a provisional agreement on the council of heads of states and council of heads of governments of the CIS; an agreement between member states of the CIS on strategic forces; and an agreement of the council of heads of states of the CIS on the armed forces and border troops. All documents of the meeting will be published in the press.

I want to stress the fact that the above conference was a serious step toward consolidating the sovereignty of the member states of the CIS and development of cooperation among them.

Esteemed compatriots, the new Tajikistan can reach high levels of economic and cultural progress only with your help and activities. Therefore, model discipline and conscientious labor is essential for all members of the society. I am hopeful that in the New Year all aspects of the national economy will develop with your endeavors on the basis of friendship. On this basis the living standard of the workers will improve and your lives will become more prosperous and happy. With this aim, we have to prepare the ground for tomorrow's plentiful harvest today and adopt measures in consultation. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic Relations Established With China

OW0701123992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] In Dushanbe Tajikistan and China signed a joint communique on establishing diplomatic relations at embassy level. The document was signed when a Chinese

governmental delegation led by the Minister for Foreign Economic Relations and Foreign Trade Li Lanqing visited Tajikistan.

The communique says Tajikistan recognizes the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate power throughout the territory of China, including Taiwan, and does not plan to establish any relations with Taiwan.

During the visit the Chinese delegation also signed a five year trade agreement.

Turkmenia

President Says No Armed Forces for 5 Years

OW0701130292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] In the next five years Turkmenia does not intend to set up its own armed forces. The statement was made on Monday [6 January] at a meeting with representatives of army units stationed in the republic by President Saparmurad Niyazov. He accounted this to the shortage of Turkmen officers, financial and logistical difficulties. He added thought that on this issue his republic depends on the steps of other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The president hoped for a speedy agreement with Russia on armed forces. He said Russia is ready to help Turkmenia with supplies of troops stationed in the republic, specifically border guards. He hoped that in two to three years Turkmenia will improve its economic situation and be able to provide for the army units in its territory itself.

According to the president, Turkmenia does not want to disrupt the control and interaction system in the armed forces of the region, specifically the Turkestan Military District which has its headquarters in Tashkent.

President Niyazov felt that the republic might set up something of a defence ministry. It is also possible that citizens of Turkmenistan irrespective of nationality will be appointed deputy commanders of units and formations.

According to the Turkmen leader, the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is due to arrive in Ashkhabad in mid-January and discuss military questions among others. The Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Commonwealth Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov is also planning to visit Ashkhabad.

Leader, Commanders Establish Defense Ministry

LD0701075992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0723 GMT 7 Jan 92

[By unidentified TURKMENINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 7 Jan (TASS)—The decision to set up a Defense Ministry in Turkmenistan was adopted at a meeting that took place here between President Niyazov and commanders of military units stationed on the republic's territory.

The necessity of setting up a special state defense body, the president noted, is prompted both by Turkmenistan's sovereignty and the Minsk agreements on organizing the Commonwealth armed forces. The ministry, which is being set up together with the internal troops, the military commissariats, the civil defense, and the national guard, which will be subordinate to this ministry, will serve as a link between the unified armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the army formations on the territory of the republic.

Price Liberalization Postponed Until 10 Jan

LD0601192192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1648 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Turkmenistan postpones liberalization of prices from January 6 to January 10, said republic's President Saparmurad Niyazov addressing the expanded session of the Presidential Council of Turkmenistan, held on January 6. Niyazov said that fixed prices, partially subsidized by the state, had been established for a number of foodstuffs and goods for children. The republic is having much problem with cash money, President Niyazov added. He said the situation was aggravated by the fact that Russia claimed 20 per cent of every consignment of printed cash sent to Turkmenistan. Niyazov announced that wages, pensions and other social payments would be increased in Turkmenistan not earlier than in February, this year. Turkmenistan is introducing an income tax similar to the one introduced in Russia.

Diplomatic Relations Established With China

LD0701122192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1128 GMT 7 Jan 92

[By TURKMENINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 7 Jan (TASS)—An official ceremony for the signing of a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Turkmenia and the PRC at the level of embassies took place today in Ashkhabad. During a meeting between government delegations headed by Li Lanqing, PRC minister of foreign economic relations and trade, and President of Turkmenia Saparmurad Niyazov, prospects for bilateral relations were discussed and an agreement on trade and economic cooperation providing for equality and mutual benefit for the two sides was drawn up. It was decided to open trade missions in Turkmenia and the PRC.

Armenia

Officials To Decide Georgian President's Fate

Gamsakhurdia in Idzhevan

LD0601173692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 6 Jan (TASS)—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, his family, and persons accompanying them have arrived at the Armenian border and "are at the barrier at the point of entry to the republic's Idzhevanskiy Rayon," TASS has been told by an official spokesman close to the Armenian leadership. He added that representatives of the Armenian leadership are continuing negotiations by telephone with Tbilisi "to coordinate positions with respect to Gamsakhurdia." According to the official spokesman, it is not impossible that Gamsakhurdia and his family will be granted temporary refuge in the town of Idzhevan, 141 km from Yerevan in northeast Armenia. Unofficial reports state that an armed group of up to 100 men accompanying Zviad Gamsakhurdia had been halted in Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon and will not be allowed into Armenia. The Armenian authorities have not yet released any official information on Zviad Gamsakhurdia's arrival in the republic.

Temporary Refuge Expected

LD0601203792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2009 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 6 Jan (TASS)—Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his family are now in Armenia's Idzhevaskiy Rayon.

The Armenian authorities are expecting a request from Tbilisi to grant Gamsakhurdia temporary asylum in Armenia and to guarantee the safety of those accompanying him. The latter group will not be accepted by Armenia, and with a guarantee for their safety, will be returned to Tbilisi. This was reported to a TASS correspondent by a responsible member of the office of the senior national security advisor to the Armenian president.

Official Armenian circles are making it known that what is at issue is not the granting of political asylum to Zviad Gamsakhurdia but temporary refuge—at the request of Georgia—for Gamsakhurdia and his family.

Authorities Consider Asylum

LD0701054192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0330 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] In Yerevan, the Armenian authorities are examining the request from the new authorities of Georgia on granting asylum to Zviad Gamsakhurdia. This report was broadcast by Armenian television on the evening news bulletin. However, it has not been possible to confirm or refute the report.

A TASS correspondent learned that telephone conversations have been going on for several hours between representatives of the leadership of Armenia and Tbilisi to coordinate positions on the attitude toward Gamsakhurdia. However, both the apparatus of the president and the republic's national security council refuse to report the contents of these talks.

Georgian Decision Awaited

LD0701114992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Telephone report from Tbilisi by Ashot Artemyan, press secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia, for the Radio Rossii news service—recorded]

[Text] Concerning ousted Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's presence in Armenia, as of 1500 local time it was reported that with the permission of the Armenian authorities he is now in the Idzhevan area of Armenia. This permission was granted for humanitarian reasons until his fate is finally decided. The Armenian authorities will not make a final decision until they know the official view of the authorities in Georgia. As soon as Georgian officials determine how they intend to act on the matter, a final decision will be made here on his future fate. The rumors that Armenia has given political asylum to Gamsakhurdia, or intends to do so, are not true.

Pipeline Reopens; Gas Supplies Resume

PM0601150992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, ANI, POSTFACTUM roundup]

[Text] Armenia has started to receive fuel again through the gas pipeline that was shut off by Azerbaijan on 4 November 1991.

After a break of nearly two months, the republic received more than 1 million cubic meters of gas on Wednesday [as received], Gagik Arutyunyan, vice president and head of the Armenian Government, announced today at a session of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. According to him, a small quantity of fuel oil and other liquid fuel has been delivered to Armenia by railroad. The government is taking steps to increase supplies of fuel to the republic, he said.

Government Forms Republic Gold Reserve

OW0501184392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1712 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenia has announced the formation of a gold reserve of its own and plans to expand the extraction of precious metals.

The first 13-kilo ingot smelted in Russia from Armenian gold, worth 1 million rubles, has been handed over to President Levon Ter-Petrosyan who transferred it for keeping to the National Bank of Armenia.

Until recently, all gold produced in Armenia was forwarded to the national budget.

The Armenian leader expressed the hope that his republic would be able, in the near future, to have its gold undergo the full processing cycle at home and thereby lay a solid foundation for the introduction of its own currency.

According to republican TV, Armenia expects to annually extract about 3.5 tons of gold and up to 22 tons of silver during the next 4-5 years.

Iranian Relief Supplies Arrive in Nakhichevan

LD0401143392 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] A convoy of food supplies donated to the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan by the Red Crescent Society and Orumiyyeh's Governor's Office arrived in Nakhichevan yesterday to a warm welcome from the people and officials of that republic.

According to an IRNA report, the Nakhichevan Relief Society will distribute the relief aid, which includes 120 tonnes of food, among the people of that republic.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Hasani, the representative of the Vali-ye Faqih and Orumiyyeh's Friday prayer leader, who travelled to that republic to deliver the relief supplies, met with Mr. Nedzhan Farzaliyev, the prime minister, and a group of spiritual leaders from the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan yesterday evening. The expanding relations between Muslims living on both sides of the Araks was discussed.

Azerbaijan

Georgian President's Movements Reported

LD0601163892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—Azerbaijan's authorized representative in Moscow issued a report this evening from the republic president's press service.

It states that "on 6 January 1992 at about 0900 in the morning a convoy of vehicles crossed the border of the Azerbaijani Republic in Kazakhskiy Rayon from the Georgian side with, as it turned out, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in one of the vehicles." The report from the president's press service also notes that Gamsakhurdia and the persons accompanying him had reached the town of Ganja and made a "temporary stop" there.

"Azerbaijan," the report says, "was not informed about Zviad Gamsakhurdia's arrival. The question of granting him political asylum has not been considered."

The document also says that at about 1500 Moscow time Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the persons accompanying him "left via Kazakhskiy Rayon for the town of Idzhevan in the republic of Armenia."

NKAO Supreme Soviet Holds First Session

LD0601040392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2255 GMT 5 Jan 92

[By Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—The first session of the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, which has been proclaimed, opens in Stepanakert today. According to a report from the KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY, 51 of the 81 members of the parliament will take part. Of the seats in parliament, 19 will be assumed after 11 January when the second round of voting takes place. After the first round, which took place on 28 December 1991, 11 parliamentary seats remained vacant for constituencies in Azerbaijani populated areas in Nagorno-Karabakh that boycotted the elections.

Today's session should elect the head of parliament and his deputy. The agenda includes adopting several Nagorno-Karabakh Republic laws, including a law on the state of emergency. This law is important because, with the collapse of the USSR and the withdrawal from Nagorno-Karabakh of internal troops belonging to the former Union, the state of emergency introduced here in January 1990 by decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has for all intents and purposes ceased to operate. Furthermore, presidential rule introduced by a decree of Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov on 2 January 1992 has been ignored in the independent Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

Observers from the Commonwealth of Independent States and foreign countries have arrived for the session. Among them are Baroness Caroline Cox, deputy speaker of the British House of Lords and a well-known civil rights campaigner; John Aybner [name as received], a representative of "International Christian Solidarity"; Russian Deputy Anatoliy Shabad; and Moscow city soviet deputies.

Session Begins

NC0601152992 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The newly elected parliament of the newly established Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, the second Armenian state, commenced its deliberations today.

Despite Azerbaijani efforts to impede the parliamentary elections and the deliberations, the constant shelling and attacks on the settlements and the capital, and road blockades, the session began at the planned time of 1000.

The parliament will have to endorse the deputies' mandates, establish its own standing orders, and elect organs of power and administration. Representatives of political, social, and religious organizations, and foreign press and press from the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States are taking part in the first session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's Supreme Soviet.

Appeals for Recognition

NC0601180392 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic began its deliberations in Stepanakert today. The Supreme Soviet adopted an appeal addressed to the UN secretary general and to the leaders and (?officials) of the independent states of the Commonwealth. The appeal declares that the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is ready to establish diplomatic relations with all the states of the world.

The appeal notes that recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations with the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is now imperative because it is time for action to defend the (?population against) the threat of physical extermination.

The session will have to elect its chairman and adopt laws, including a law on the state of emergency.

Leonard Petrosyan, chairman of the executive committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, has said [word indistinct] that in his opinion the formation of a parliament in Nagorno-Karabakh and adoption of the new laws might put a stop to the undeclared war that every day claims the lives of Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Recognition of the republic's independence by the international community would guarantee the (?protection) and security of the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis who live here.

The session is continuing its deliberations.

Mutalibov Defends Presidential Rule

LD0501011892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1700 GMT 4 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] The president of Azerbaijan Ayaz Mutalibov [says]: Only by introducing the presidential rule is [it] possible to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, to follow the way of peace.

The president of Azerbaijan stated it on January 3 at the meeting with the heads of executive power of republic's regions where the presidential rule was introduced. The meeting was also attended by senior officers of ministries and departments, representatives of public organizations and movements of the republic. Addressing the meeting Mutalibov stated that it is a virtual war that goes on in Nagorno-Karabakh. What is more, it is evolving into a broad-scaled war which is taking place of a local conflict.

According to Mutalibov, the provisional presidential rule has been introduced in order to bring back the constitutional order to the territories submitted to aggression and to re-establish lawful structures of power in the region. The main objective of the presidential rule, said he, is in stabilizing the situation in the mountainous part of Karabakh, as well as in the districts bordering on Armenia. Mutalibov pointed out that there is yet another goal, which is to cut short activity of self-appointed non-constitutional armed formations and self-appointed power structures.

Mutalibov underlined that the Supreme Council of Azerbaijan was forced to cancel the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh after four years of fruitless attempts to reinstate lawfulness and constitutional order on its territory. President also made a remark that it is the stake on forceful alienation of the territory of sovereign Azerbaijan which is getting the upper hand in the nationalistic Armenian circles.

According to Mutalibov, within the recent week in Nagorno-Karabakh several Azerbaijani villages were burned down, more than six thousand Azerbaijanians were forced out from their native places. He pointed out that Shusha, which is a town populated by Azerbaijanians, has been reduced to ruins, that Azerbaijan is made to wage the war of defense against the Armenian army equipped with modern technology and weaponry. We want peace, but to make it possible the Armenian party must at least stop its aggression against Azerbaijan, announced Mutalibov.

At the meeting was held introduction of the executive in the area of the presidential rule, commissioned by the Azerbaijani president, Musa Mamedov, who, according to Mutalibov, is vested with broad authority in setting order in the region. [sentence as received] In the immediate future, Ma''edov will proceed to the interior parts of Azerbaijan with the purpose of examining the situation and working out his own plan of actions.

Journalists Concerned Over NKAO 'Danger'

LD0601195792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Journalists accredited to Azerbaijan have released a statement on the death of correspondents in Nagorno-Karabakh. The danger to representatives of the mass media threatens to become a day-to-day reality if it is not halted. When the number of conflict zones in the political space of the former USSR is increasing, the policy of intimidating journalists could spread to other regions as well. The statement was distributed today by AZERINFORM. Recalling the recent tragedy in Nagorno-Karabakh where Mayak observer Leonid Lazerevich was

killed just before New Year's Day, the authors of the statement called for a thorough investigation into the tragedy.

Residents Demand Troops Surrender Weapons

LD2912061191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The (Der Pres) Agency reports from Azerbaijan: Local inhabitants are blocking the places where the units of the troops of the former Union Ministry of Internal Affairs, which are being withdrawn, are located. The inhabitants are demanding that they give their arms to them and leave Azerbaijani territory unarmed. The internal troops have been promised transportation if they comply with this demand.

Most of the soldiers are not complying with this demand.

President Receives Libyan Islamic Leader

OW0501180392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1712 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov received December 4 [date as receiv] Secretary General of Libya's Islamic League Muha .mad Ahmad Sharif who is in Azerbaijan at the invitation of the chairman of the region's religion office.

IF [INTERFAX] learned from the president's press-service that the discussion covered the development of ties between Azerbaijan and Libya, including humanitarian, cultural and interpaliamentary.

Nakhichevan Dependent on Foreign Food Aid

LD3112122191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Dec 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Nakhichevan's economic situation is now very serious. The blockade affecting the autonomous republic is certainly one of the negative consequences of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. There would simply be nothing to eat in Nakhichevan, which is separated from Azerbaijan, if not for food arriving from neighboring Iran and Turkey as humanitarian aid.

The distribution of this fraternal aid is fairly interesting. Special coupons are printed in Nakhichevan for virtually all food. Products are issued in exchange for them, thanks to this humanitarian aid from Turkey and Iran.

According to Geydar Aliyev, chairman of Nakhichevan's supreme majlis, there is an understanding with the Armenian side. Rail services between Baku and Nakhichevan through Armenia's territory may open soon. But for the time being the lifeline is closed and Nakhichevan's inhabitants are suffering from an economic crisis that all of us have yet to experience.

Turkey Urges Economic Group Membership

LD0301144492 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 3 Jan 92

[By Aleksandr Chelyshev]

[Text] Istanbul January 3 TASS—Turkey will help Azerbaijan in every way to join the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), which includes Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. Ankara informed Tehran and Islamabad that, in its opinion, Azerbaijan should be admitted to the ECO, and suggested this problem should be discussed at the next ECO session, which is planned to be held early in February, says an official report of the Turkish Foreign Ministry.

The GUNAYDIN newspaper wrote today with reference to Pakistani minister for finance and economic affairs Sartaj Aziz, at the next ECO session will be also discussed the joining of the organisation by Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and the creation of a new economic bloc, an Economic Cooperation Council. The Pakistani minister pointed out that its creation would be discussed in the context of the development of relations between those republics and the Commonwealth of Independent States, as well as the overall situation in the Commonwealth.

Report Says Helicopter Shot Down From Ground

PM0601145992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 92 p 6

[Correspondent Zaur Kadymbekov report under the rubric "Following up the Event": "MI-8: Fired On From Ground"]

[Text] Baku—On New Year's eve, the whole of Azerbaijan marked with sorrow the 40th day since the passengers and crew members of a MI-8 military helicopter, which exploded near the Armenian village of Karakent in Nagorno-Karabakh, perished. By this time the reasons for the tragedy had become known despite the fact that the "black box" had "resolved" to keep its secrets to itself. All its secrets melted in the high temperature which resulted from the explosion and fire in the helicopter.

However, as Nazim Tagiyev—chief of the republic prosecutor's office department for examining particularly important cases—informed us, the comprehensive expert examination carried out in a Ministry of Defense scientific research institute laboratory came to the unequivocal conclusion: The helicopter was shot down from the ground. It was established that the shots at the helicopter came from the ground at an angle of 30 degrees from machine guns and submachine guns. There were 5.45 and 7.62 millimeter bullet holes in the tail rotor blade, skin,

and pilots' cockpit canopy. Other investigative measures allowed them to determine that the distance between the aircraft in the air and the several points of origin of the fire on the ground was no greater than 300 meters. The pilots' injuries and the sharp reduction in the helicopter's speed to 40 kilometers per hour caused it to fall, explode, and catch fire with the resultant loss of life. The authoritative commission established what the "black box" was not able to say.

Meskhetian Turks Arriving From Uzbekistan

NC0601105492 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 2 Jan 91

[Text] Turkova in Khizi Rayon is growing. The Meskhetian Turks from Uzbekistan are being resettled in this town. Dozens of families are being resettled in the new residential buildings in the town. These wronged but hardworking people are getting accustomed to this land and as they do so their problems are being gradually resolved.

State Sector Employees To Receive Pay Raise

LD0501063592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2300 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] In Baku existing pay rates and salaries have been doubled for employees of organizations and institutions in the health care, education, culture, science, and public transportation sectors and for law enforcement and administrative authorities financed out of the state budget. A decree by the Azerbaijani president notes that this is being done to improve the social welfare of these workers and to bring their incomes closer to those of workers in production and non-production sectors.

Another decree, linked to price liberalization, is intended to strengthen the social welfare of college students and military academy cadets, postgraduates, and students at secondary specialized vocational and trade establishments. This decree doubles their grants.

Georgia

2,000 Gamsakhurdia Supporters Demonstrate

AU0701132292 Paris AFP in English 1256 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Tbilisi, Jan 7 (AFP)—More than 2,000 supporters of ousted Georgian leader Zviad Gamsakhurdia massed in Tbilisi on Tuesday [7 January] calling for his return to power. "The president must come back", chanted the crowd. "These bandits must be killed," shouted a speaker in reference to the anti-Gamsakhurdia forces, as the demonstrators cried "kill, kill."

The crowd gathered near Tbilisi railway station, but some of the demonstrators later marched off towards the television centre, which is also the headquarters of the provisional government set up by Gamsakhurdia's opponents.

Some reports said armed men were among the demonstrators and the provisional Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua opted to leave the television centre which is heavily guarded by his supporters.

Gamsakhurdia who fled early on Monday [6 January] is now in Armenia, opposition spokesman Dzhaba Ioseliani said.

"Azerbaijan refused to take him and he is in Armenia ... We're going to tell them clearly that Zviad Gamsakhurdia is a criminal and must be tried in Georgia," he said at a press conference.

He said fighting had still not ended altogether in the capital. "There are still some supporters of president Gamsakhurdia," notably regional police chiefs named by him and who have refused to recognise the new regime, he said.

Demonstrators Fired On

AU0701134792 Paris AFP in English 1344 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Tbilisi, Jan 7 (AFP)—Several people were wounded when armed men opened fire on a demonstration in support of ousted Georgian leader Zviad Gamsakhurdia here on Tuesday [7 January], an AFP photographer said.

The men opened fire on the crowd of around 1,000 people who had been marching through the streets of the Georgian capital for around three hours.

Delegation To Demand Gamsakhurdia Extradition

OW0701143392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy head of the Georgian mission in Moscow Zaur Mesablishvili has informed INTERFAX that a delegation of the new Georgian leadership has left for Armenia for talks with the leaders of that country. He said the delegation intends to demand the extradition of President Gamsakhurdia who is now in Idzhevan region of Armenia. He did not name members of the delegation.

Early in the morning on Monday [6 Janaury] Zviad Gamsakhurdia fled from his besieged bunker in the House of the Government in Tbilisi with his family and armed guards.

According to Mr. Mesablishvili, earlier the Georgian press carried a statement by the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan that Armenia is ready to grant political asylum to the Georgian leader.

Reportage on Aftermath of Gamsakhurdia Escape

People 'Jubilant'

OW0601182092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Our correspondent reports from Tbilisi that the population is jubilant after President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's flight. Rustaveli Prospekt is seething with people congratulating each other on the victory.

However nobody but fire brigades, doctors, and journalists are being let into the vicinity of the government building, which is still on fire. Many of the buildings around it are destroyed, and there are burned army vehicles on the streets.

Large stocks of food and weapons have been found in Mr. Gamsakhurdia's bunker. No journalists are being let into the former president's office for it is feared that there are bombs planted in it.

30 Killed in 6 Jan Clashes

AU0701103292 Paris AFP in English 0953 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Tbilisi, Jan 7 (AFP)—Thirty people were killed in fighting in and around the Georgian capital Monday [6 January] as ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia and loyalists fled Tbilisi, the opposition Military Council said Tuesday [7 January].

Life here was slowly returning to normal after two weeks of heavy fighting as stores in the downtown district started to reopen their door Tuesday morning, though streets were still cluttered with burnt vehicles, roadblocks and rubbish.

Ten of the dead Monday were killed in armed clashes that broke out when supporters of Gamsakhurdia who were fleeing the capital Monday hit upon two village roadblocks set up by opposition rebels, the military council said.

The incidents, in the villages of Natakhari and Akhiani about 40 kilometers (25 miles) outside of Tbilisi, also left 20 injured.

The Red Cross said the fighting that raged around the besieged parliament building Sunday night and Monday morning left 20 dead and five injured.

This differed from the toll released by the Georgian Health Ministry which said Tuesday that eight were killed and 11 injured.

Gamsakhurdia finally fled the parliament building, where he had been holed up for two weeks, under opposition fire early Monday and was apparently in Armenia.

The opposition military council here, however, said they were not certain of Gamsakhurdia's whereabouts. "There are two versions: either he is in Armenia or he took a plane from Azerbaijan for an unknown destination," said Zurab Pottskhaveria, an opposition press spokesman who said neither version had been confirmed.

TASS news agency, monitored in London by the BBC, carried a statement late Monday saying that Armenian authorities would grant only temporary refuge to Gamsakhurdia.

Armed opposition forces who took over the Tbilisi parliament building said they were forming a provisional government in Georgia.

Several people were in downtown Tbilisi to survey the damage from the fighting. Others rushed to try to obtain one of the few copies of a new paper the Georgian Chronicle put up for sale by the National Democratic Party of opposition leader Gia Chanturia following a news black-out. Papers have not appeared for the last few days in Georgia.

Escape Reviewed

LD0601134992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1123 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] On December 6 [date as received] President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his team left the House of Government in Tbilisi about 5 A.M. His whereabouts are not known. Leaders of the armed opposition learned on the night of December 6 [date as received] that Zviad Gamsakhurdia was going to leave the House of Government. All the approaches to the House of Government were blocked except one corridor. The opposition leaders were concerned that the armed supporters of Gamsakhurdia might disperse in the city and start harassing the population. The armed opposition members who were guarding the approaches to the House of Government said they had deliberately let the column of an army personnel carrier, a small RAF bus and two Zhiguli cars pass freely. They believed Zviad Gamsakhurdia was there. Some time later the column was followed by several Ikarus buses which stopped near the armed opposition pickets near Leselidze Street and let out Gamsakhurdia's supporters in protective armour clothing and helmets and opened fire. Six people are killed. The city commandant Georgiy Karkarashvili told PF [POSTFACTUM] that all the roads from Tbilisi were closed and Gamsakhurdia would hardly have a chance to escape. Heavy gunfire was allegedly opened between the retreating supporters of Gamsakhurdia and the opposition in the western part of Tbilisi near the Mukhatgverdy Cemetery. Some members of the office of the national security chief adviser to the Armenian president told PF that Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his team had crossed the Armenian border in a bus. According to the information available by 11 a.m. Moscow time December 6 [date as received], the bus with President Gamsakhurdia left Armenia possibly for Azerbaijan. It has emerged that the agreement to give President Gamsakhurdia permission

to escape from Georgia via Armenia was reached during the negotiations on January 2 in Tbilisi between the chief adviser to the Armenian president for national security Ashot Manchuryan and Zviad Gamsakhurdia as well as the armed opposition leaders. Members of the armed opposition are now inside the Government House in Tbilisi. One of the buildings of the Government House caught fire. The guards are trying to save their property. All the approaches to the House of Government are free. There are a number of crushed private cars burning in the yard of the House of Government. The armed opposition has arrested the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia Nemo Burchuladze, the chairman of the finance-budget committee Tariel Gelantia and a member of the republican Supreme Soviet Merab Kiknadze. One of the leaders of the armed opposition Tengiz Kitovani told PF the following: Today on January 6 democracy has at last won in Georgia. From now on we are a democratic republic. I congratulate the Georgian people on this long-awaited victory. I also congratulate all the democratic forces in the world.

Supporters To Stand Trial

LD0601141992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1402 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 6 Jan (TASS)—President Gamsakhurdia's supporters who are guilty of committing crimes will answer to a court of law, Georgian Procurator General Vakhtang Razmadze told TASS in an interview today. He added that a number of criminal cases have been opened and that some suspects have been detained and are being questioned.

The procurator general stressed that the investigation is being conducted in compliance with the existing legislation and Constitution of the republic of Georgia. Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet; Tariel Gelantiya, chairman of the Standing Commission for Finance and Budget Affairs; and a number of pro-Gamsakhurdia deputies who spent the past two weeks with the president in his bunker under Government House have been detained and questioned. According to official accounts, these members of parliament were released and allowed to go home after giving testimony.

Supporters Released

OW0601153092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [6 January] morning, not far from Tbilisi, opposition forces caught President Gamsakhurdia's supporters, who were going westards on an Ikarus bus, the Georgian mission in Moscow informed IF [INTERFAX]. Among those caught were Vice-Chairman of the Georgian parliament, Mr. Nemo Burchaladze, Chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for Trade and Finances, Mr. Tariel Gelantiya, First Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Boris Kolandiya and two MPs [members of parliament].

The detained leaders said during a press conference at the opposition headquarters that with military guards Zviad Gamsakhurdia had set out towards Azerbaijan. After the press conference all of the detainees were released.

According to the opposition press service, 40 people were freed from the bunker of the government building where they had been subjected to tortures.

Georgian representatives in Moscow told IF that Georgian Foreign Minister Mr. Murman Omanidze was arrested on Monday in a hotel room of the Georgian mission in Moscow.

Omanidze on Escape

LD0601221792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniı Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Report by N. Ivanov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The permanent mission in Moscow impatiently awaits news from Tbilisi. Minister of Foreign Affairs Omanidze, who fled the Government House shortly before the New Year, is still here.

[Begin Omanidze recording] On the 29th, at a kangaroo court, the first thing Manana Dzuzuashvili, Nemo Burchuladze, and others accused me of was that I did not allow people to shoot and return fire. Can you tell me, please, who exactly to shoot at? Who to shoot at? What enemies? [end recording]

[Ivanov] Omanidze asserts that Gamsakhurdia planned to flee the Government House as early as 19 December, but attacks and accusations made mostly by women in the surrounding of Gamsakhurdia prevented him from doing so. It is evident that recent events in Tbilisi are yet to be studied.

[Begin recording] [Ivanov] How did Gamsakhurdia manage to escape from the bunker? You were there at one point. Have you any ideas how it happened?

[Omanidze] There was no way he could have escaped unnoticed. I think that the decency of Tengiz Kitovani and Tengiz Ippolitovich Sigua made this possible. They tried to avoid bloodshed until the very end. [end recording]

No Asylum Request To Turkey

LD0601165692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 6 Jan 92

[By Roman Grigoryev]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has not requested political asylum from the Turkish Government, a TASS World Service correspondent was told a short time ago at the Turkish Embassy in Moscow. He added that, according to the Turkish Consulate in Baku, Zviad Gamsakhurdia was staying in Kazakh (Azerbaijan) today. The plenipotentiary representative of Azerbaijan in Moscow reported earlier that after spending about six hours on the republic's territory, Gamsakhurdia and the people accompanying him departed for the Armenian city of Idzhevan.

Shevardnadze Offers Help to New Government

LD0601175492 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, currently in Moscow, is not normally categorical. On this occasion, however, the high-level politician, calling the Gamsakhurdia regime totalitarian, is specific in the extreme.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] Blood has flowed. There are victims, there are fatalities, there are injuries, and there is enormous destruction. The time now has come for people to define their positions. The president's first duty: He should go. There is no other way out. I nevertheless hope that the president has enough boldness to embark on such a step in the interests of his own nation, his own people.

I am prepared to take part in the democratization process insofar as my energies and capabilities allow. This may take place after the president's departure because I know his attitude. He will not allow me to be involved in any way, including as a mediator in this process.

If that which should happen does happen, then I will help my people, my friends, and my colleagues, and, naturally, as my first duty, the democratic movement. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Role Favored

LD0601132892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Representatives of the military council established by the Georgian opposition say they intend to create a coalition civilian government and to hold elections no later than April. They were speaking at a news conference in Tbilisi today, following the flight of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. The Azerbaijani news agency TURAN reports that Gamsakhurdia, who is on Azerbaijani territory, intends to ask for asylum abroad. Meanwhile, Dzhaba Ioseliani, one of the opposition leaders, has noted that Gamsakhurdia should be returned to Georgia if it is proven that he is guilty of committing crimes. Ioseliani, AFP reports, did not exclude the possibility of restoring a constitutional monarchy in Georgia in the future. He also advocated Eduard Shevardnadze's participation in the new government.

Opposition Urges Abkhazia Session Delay

LD0501163392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1459 GMT 5 Jan 92

[By Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 5 Jan (TASS)—The Georgian opposition's Military Council sent a letter today to Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Abkhazia, with the aim of stabilizing the situation in regions where ethnic conflicts are possible.

In the document, the Military Council asks Abkhazia to suspend the next session of its Supreme Soviet for 10-15 days in connection with the unstable political situation in Tbilisi. "This will prevent ill-thought decisions, which are possible in the circumstances of a political crisis," the letter says.

In the opinion of observers, the aim of this letter is to rule out the possibility of the Abkhazian parliament making decisions that would lead to its separation from the Republic of Georgia. For its turn, the Military Council guarantees that, after the end of the military confrontation, all issues will be resolved, taking into consideration "the wishes and the aspirations of the Abkhazian and Georgian peoples." It is reported that the opposition forces resumed intensive shelling of Government House in Tbilisi after 1600.

Supreme Soviet Session Held

LD0601225792 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The extremely complex situation in Tbilisi has not affected the work of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet session on its new composition. Its meeting was held today in Sukhumi. Abkhaz parliament deputies limited themselves to solving organizational issues. Vladislav Ardzinba, 46-year-old doctor of historical sciences, was once again unanimously elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

'Acting' Prime Minister Makes Appointments

LD0401054392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0400 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Text] In Georgia, according to an RIA report, acting Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua has made appointments to key posts: Lieutenant General Levon Sharashenidze, who long held the post of military commissar of the republic, is the new defense minister. International financier (Bazhe Zhinzhikhadze) is appointed president of the national bank. (Vakhtang Khundadze), a well-known

journalist who was dismissed from television for taking part in the opposition, now heads the state television and radio department.

We do not have any further information about what is happening in Tbilisi.

Tactical Nuclear Weapons Located in Republic

LD0501102892 Berlin ADN in German 0924 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Text] Tbilisi (ADN)—Tactical nuclear weapons from the former Soviet army are now on the territory of the Caucasian Republic of Georgia. This was confirmed today by the Georgian agency IPRINDA. The agency, however, was unable to give details about the precise number of warheads. The weapons are part of the former Soviet army units stationed in Georgia and will be under the command of the Commonwealth of Independent States, like all the nuclear arms of the former USSR.

Military Council Reinstates SAKINFORM

LD0501135292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 5 Jan 92

[By SAKINFORM correspondent Rem Davidov-TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 5 Jan (TASS)—The Georgian SAKINFORM national information agency once again got down to work today. It was abolished over a month ago for allegedly failing to broadcast objective information about events in the republic. The newly created SEIS information agency, which was called on by the Cabinet of Ministers "to break through the information blockade," fell silent the day that Government House was stormed.

The Georgian Military Council has decided to reestablish SAKINFORM. Archil Mandzhgaladze, the agency's previous head, has been appointed director.

Estonia

Diplomatic Relations Established With Egypt

LD0601181192 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Today the Estonian and Egyptian Foreign Ministries issued a communique on establishing diplomatic relations. This was reported to ETA by the information department of the Estonian Foreign Ministry.

A protocol was signed in Helsinki last night by Egyptian Ambassador Husni Sa'd (?al-Din) (al-Agizy) and Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri. The Eqyptian ambassador relayed greetings from Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak to Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, and to Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Estonian Government.

Savisaar Remarks on Temporary Price Solutions

LD0701023992 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 31 Dec 91

[Summary] Today the government discussed prices. At its session the government decided that for the month of January state subsidies for milk and bread will continue, costing the state 40 million rubles for the month. The price of electricity, gas, and central heating will go up from 15 January, when electricity will cost about 20 kopeks per kilowatt hour. Gas will cost about 305 rubles per cubic meter, with heating rates to be set by local governments.

Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar says that this is possible because of the currently healthy state of the budget. He says: "In a few months, as we change over to the Estonian kroon, it is clear that the government will no longer be able to take steps of this kind and make decisions like we did at Christmas on the 80 million ruble compensation for rising meat and milk prices, and now this 40 million one to subsidize the price of milk and to keep grain products—bread—at old price levels. These are but temporary solutions in order to survive the winter, and we are very well aware of this."

Tallinn Introduces Energy-Saving Measures

LD0701100292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0840 GMT 7 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 7 Jan (TASS)—Tallinn boiler houses have fuel reserves for approximately 10 days. This has been stated on the local television channel by a spokesman for the capital's thermal system. Limited reserves of furnace fuel oil made city authorities establish economy measures from the very beginning of the season and reduce the average temperature in housing estates to 14-16 degrees.

The shortfall in the supply of oil products, including fuel oil, from Russia is named as the main reason for the fuel deficit. No major improvements have been envisaged for the near future because in the first quarter Russia will be able to supply approximately 70 percent of the amount of oil products supplied in the first quarter of last year.

Visa Procedures To Be Introduced 15 Jan

LD0601162392 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] A conference took place today at the Estonian Railways state enterprise to discuss the introduction of checks on persons on board trains crossing the Estonian border. Taking part in the conference were representatives of the Railways Department, Immigration Department, State and Border Defense Department, and the Customs Department. A large number of proposals were adopted which will be presented to the government and the Ministries of Transport and Internal Affairs.

In connection with the fact that from 15 January a visa system will be introduced on the Estonian borders it was decided that visa application forms will be sold by train stewards. The forms will be filled in by those entering Estonia before they cross the border. The Estonian border guards will put an entry stamp on them.

(Edgar Aaro), head of the operational section at the State and Border Defense Department said in an interview given to the Baltic News Service that border guards will do everything to introduce visa procedures on the Estonian border from 15 January. As is known, visas will be issued at the Estonian border, according to a resolution of the republic government, to prove the foreigner's right to stay in Estonia. It is planned to introduce issuing visas on the basis of invitations during the next stage. Edgar Aaro emphasized, however, that the task given by the government will be very difficult to implement if the legislators do not lay down effective sanctions against those violating the regulations. For example, so far there is no act which would regulate the compulsory deportation of foreigners.

Border Guards Train

OW0701031792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The next stage of preparation of Estonian border guards begins in the Remniku training center on the east of Estonia January 7. 220 recruits and 40 junior officers will take the course.

Andrus Oovel, Director General of the Estonian State and Border Protection Department, told BF [BALTFAX] that on January 10th, 180 border guards will start training in the Kuressaare center on Saaremaa Island to later protect the Estonian border.

Latvia

Diplomatic Relations Established With Israel

OW0601213492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 6 Israel's Ambassador in Moscow Arye Levin and Latvian Deputy Foreign Ministry Maris Gailis exchanged the notes on restoration of diplomatic relations between the two states.

Mr. Levin has met with Chairman of the Latvian parliament Anatoliy Gorbunovs to discuss the possibility that the Israeli side look into Latvian archives concerning the fate of Latvian Jews.

After the meeting Mr. Levin told reporters that Israel intends to open its representation in Riga soon.

Maris Gailis also told BF [BALTFAX] that Latvia's interests in Israel for the time being will be represented by honorary consul Semyen Shpungin [name as received] who had worked for a long time at the LATINFORM news agency.

Archival Exchange Possible

LD0601224892 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Arye Leven, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Israel in Moscow, who has arrived in Riga, and the Latvian Deputy Foreign Minister Maris Gailis today exchanged official notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states. To mark their commencement there was a meeting of the Israeli ambassador with Anatolijs Gorbunovs, the chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia.

After the meeting Arye Levin told journalists that in the talks with the leader of the Latvian parliament, he recalled the facts of the genocide of the Jewish people on the territory of Latvia during World War II and thereafter. There was discussion of the question of the Israeli side gaining access to the Latvian wartime archives. Establishing cooperation between our states will require time, said Arye Levin. We will have to thoroughly familiarize ourselves with the republic's laws and program of economic reforms. In this context Latvia intends to get detailed notions of the Israeli economic system and determine the effective spheres for contact. At the beginning of the development of relations, the chief role will be played by the Israeli Embassy in Latvia, to be opened in Riga, and the Latvian honorary consul in Israel.

Food, Fuel Supplies Discussed in Brussels

LD0601174192 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans is visiting Brussels today, where, together with representatives of several states, he is speaking about supplies of petroleum products and grain to Latvia.

Defense Minister in Copenhagen for Talks

LD0601174692 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Text] Today in Copenhagen there is a North Atlantic Assembly, in which a Latvian delegation, led by Minister of Defense Talavs Jundzis, is participating. Our representatives will put the main accent on the question of the withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces from our country.

Lithuania

Working Group Discusses Border Demarcation

OW0401091492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1920 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 2, a meeting of working groups of Lithuania and Belarus was held in Vilnius to draw a state border between these states. According to the head of the Lithuanian delegation, Defense Minister Mr. Audrius Butkiavicius, the problem is that the 725 km-long border with Belarus has never been demarcated on the ground. "It has existed on [word indistinct] only. That's why something will have to be reviewed", Mr. Butkiavicius said. "However, it does not mean that Lithuania has any territorial claims to Belarus", he pointed out.

With regard to the settlement of borders with other states, Mr. Butkiavicius said that "the situation is clear" with Poland, Latvia and the Kaliningrad region of Russia.

Leader on Meeting With Belarus' Shushkevich

OW0701020092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania and Belarus are soon to sign an agreement concerning trade and economic relations, and also an agreement about government relations, announced the President of the Lithuanian Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis on Lithuanian television last Sunday [5 January].

V. Landsbergis said, that in the course of his recent negotiations with the parliamentary President of Belarus, Stanislav Shushkevich, the question of ethnic minorities came up. They agreed that creating territorial

autonomies either in Lithuania or in Belarus was unacceptable. The agreement envisaged Belarussian schools being set up in Lithuania and Lithuanian ones in Belarus.

DLP Insists on Constitution Before Presidency

OW0501034892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1953 GMT 4 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of the Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania [DLP] (founded on the basis of the former independent Communist Party of Lithuania—BF [BALTFAX]) insists that presidency should be introduced only after the republic's new constitution is adopted. A resolution passed by the Council at its meeting on January 4 points out it is the constitution that will define presidential powers, and only afterwards a presidential election may be held.

It has also been decided to hold a conference of the DLP in Vilnius on January 25.

Dollar Reaches Record at Currency Auction

OW0701023592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a hard currency auction of the Bank of Lithuania Monday [6 January] the selling price of the dollar reached a record 310 rubles.

The dollar was initially offered for 150 to 240 rubles, the German Mark—from 82 to 170 rubles.

The U.S. dollars were purchased for 291-310 rubles, Marks—151, 163, 171 rubles.

3,000 Marks held in a foreign bank were sold for 182 rubles. 10,000 Finnish Markkas were sold for 52 rubles.

All in all, hard currency worth 8,366,720 rubles was sold at the auction.

Government Continues To Free Food Prices

LD0601175592 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Excerpts] As a result of the price increase on food in neighboring countries and the aim at the liberalization of price control, promoting the production of agriculture produce, and reducing the state subsidies for agricultural products, the Lithuanian Government has decided that agricultural products, except dairy products, will be purchased at market prices beginning 8 January. [passage omitted]

A firm fixed state purchase price remains for the time being on selling milk, only the price increased by 50 percent. [passage omitted]

This price increase and the purchase prices are temporary because the government decision says that the milk purchase prices will be released from 1 February. [passage omitted]

By a government decision, the price of sugar, wine, champagne, liqueur, and tobacco products will increase on average by 50 percent beginning 8 January.

'200,000' Unemployed Predicted for '92

LD0701021792 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Dec 91

[Text] By the end of 1992 Lithuania will have about 200,000 to 220,000 unemployed, which amounts to 8 to 10 percent of the republic's labor force. This is a forecast by the Lithuanian Ministry of Social Insurance. It is expected that unemployment benefits will be paid to 150,000 people.

Mazeikei Oil Director Notes Fuel Problems

OW0301202392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1623 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Director of the oil refinery in Mazeikei, Mr. Albinas Meistas, said that on December 30, 1991, oil supplies from the former USSR to his oil refinery was suddenly cut short. "Oil supplies have been resumed, however," he said. Mr. Meistas noted that the daily amount of oil supplies had sharply gone down to 16,000 tons. Therefore, only one line of this major Baltic oil refinery is currently in operation.

Mr. Meistas said that the Mazeikei oil refinery had received a telegram which says that during the three months of 1992, Russia would supply Lithuania with 3 million tons of oil.

He expressed confidence that now that only one line was in operation, prices on oil "will be still higher", and added that the oil refinery needed 40,000 tons of oil daily to function normally.

Presently, the commercial prices on oil in Lithuania are as follows: 3.5 rbls [rubles] for a litre of A-76 gasoline and 4 rbls for a litre of AI-93 gasoline.